

o

A HISTORY OF EGYPT
THE MIDDLE AGES

VOL. VI.

*BIND
FLAT*

A

HISTORY OF EGYPT, IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., LITT.D.
PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AT TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

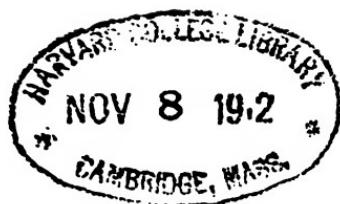
WITH A MAP AND 101 ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON
1901

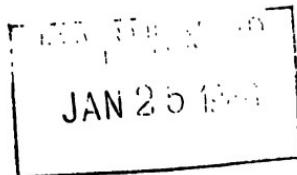
~~78.94.6~~

78.94.6

C



LONDON :
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LTD.
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.



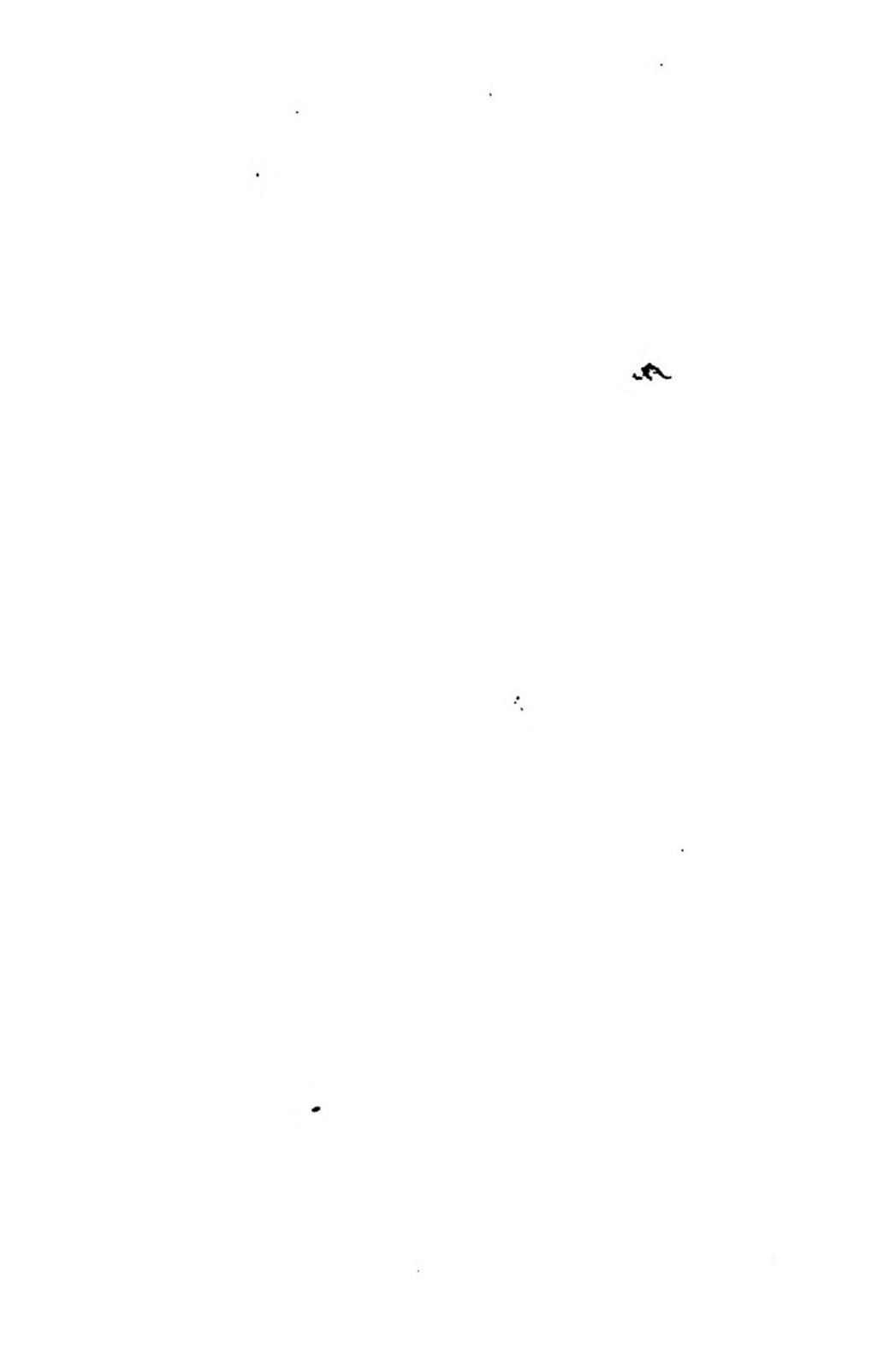
PREFACE

In this volume the History of Egypt in the Middle Ages, from its conquest by the Saracens in 640 to its annexation by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, is for the first time related in a continuous narrative apart from the general history of the Mohammadan caliphate. In compressing the events of nearly nine centuries into a single volume, many interesting subjects are of necessity treated very briefly, but the list of authorities at the head of each chapter will enable the student to obtain fuller details, especially if he is acquainted with Arabic.

Besides the works thus cited, I am particularly indebted to M. Max van Berchem, not only for permission to reproduce his photographs of inscriptions, but for his invaluable assistance in preparing the lists of inscriptions which precede each chapter, for which he kindly sent me the proof-sheets of the forthcoming volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, and also notes of the Mamlük inscriptions he had collected in Syria. I have also to thank my colleagues Professor R. H. Charles and Professor J. B. Bury for their help in reference to the Ethiopic and Byzantine sources for the history of the Arab conquest ; and M. P. Casanova and M. Herz Bey for the use of some of the illustrations.

S. L. P.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,
December 18th, 1900



CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE ARAB CONQUEST, 639-641	I
II.	A PROVINCE OF THE CALIPHATE, 641-868	14
	Tables of Governors and Chief Ministers	45
III.	TŪLŪN AND IKHISHĪD, 868-969	59
IV.	THE SHI'I'A REVOLUTION, 969	92
	Table of Alleged Descent of Fātimid Caliphs	116
V.	THE FĀTIMID CALIPHS, 969-1094	117
VI.	THE ATTACK FROM THE EAST, 969-1171	158
VII.	SALADIN, 1169-1193	190
VIII.	SALADIN'S SUCCESSORS (THE AYYŪBIDS), 1193-1250 .	212
	Table of the Ayyūbid Dynasties	212
IX.	THE FIRST MAMLŪKS, 1250-1279	242
X.	THE HOUSE OF KALĀ'ŪN, 1279-1382	276
XI.	THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLŪKS, 1382-1517	323
	INDEX	359

•

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.		PAGE
1.	Mosque of 'Amr at Fustāt	16
2.	Glass weight of Osāma b. Zeyd [A.D. 720]	25
3.	Glass stamp of 'Obeydallāh b. el-Habbāb, dated 729	27
4.	Glass weight of el-Kāsim b. 'Obeydallāh, 730	29
5.	Glass weight of 'Abd-el-Melik b. Yezid, 750	29
6.	Glass weight of Yezid b. Ilātim, 761	32
7.	Glass weight of Mohammad b. Sa'īd, 769	33
8.	Glass weight of el-Fadl b. Sālih, 785	34
9.	Dinār (gold coin) of caliph el-Ma'mūn, struck at Miṣr, (Fustāt), 814	37
10.	Glass weight of Ashnās, 834 ff.	38
11.	Section of Nilometer on island of Rōda, 9th century	62
12.	Mosque of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn at Cairo, 877-79	64
13.	Founder's inscription in mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, 879	67
14.	Dinār of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn, Miṣr, 881	68
15.	Title-deed (on wood) to a shop, 882	70
16.	Dinār of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, Miṣr, 904	76
17.	Dinār of Mohammad el-Ikhshid, Palestine, 943	84
18.	Dirhem of Abū-l-Kāsim b. el-Ikhshid, Damascus, 949	86
19.	Dinār of Abū-l-Kāsim b. el-Ikhshid, Miṣr, 950	88
20.	Dinār of el-Mo'izz, Miṣr, 969	101
21.	½-Dinār of el-Mo'izz, Palestine, 974	106
22.	Door of el-Azhar mosque, 972	110
23.	Dinār of el-'Azīz, Miṣr, 976	119
24.	¼-Dinār of el-Hākim, Sicily, 1004	124
25.	Dinār of el-Hākim, Miṣr, 1015	127
26.	Glass weight of el-Hākim, 1012	129
27.	Mosque of el-Hākim, 991-1003	130
28.	Dinār of ez-Zāhir, Miṣr, 1030	135
29.	Glass weight of el-Mustanṣir	137
30.	Dinār of el-Mustanṣir, Miṣr, 1047	138
31.	Inscription of Bedr el-G'emāli in mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, 1077	150
32.	Gate of Zawīla, Cairo, 1091	153
33.	Gate of Victory (Bāb-en-Naṣr), Cairo, 1087	155
34.	Dinār of el-Muṣṭa'lī, Tripolis, 1101	162

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

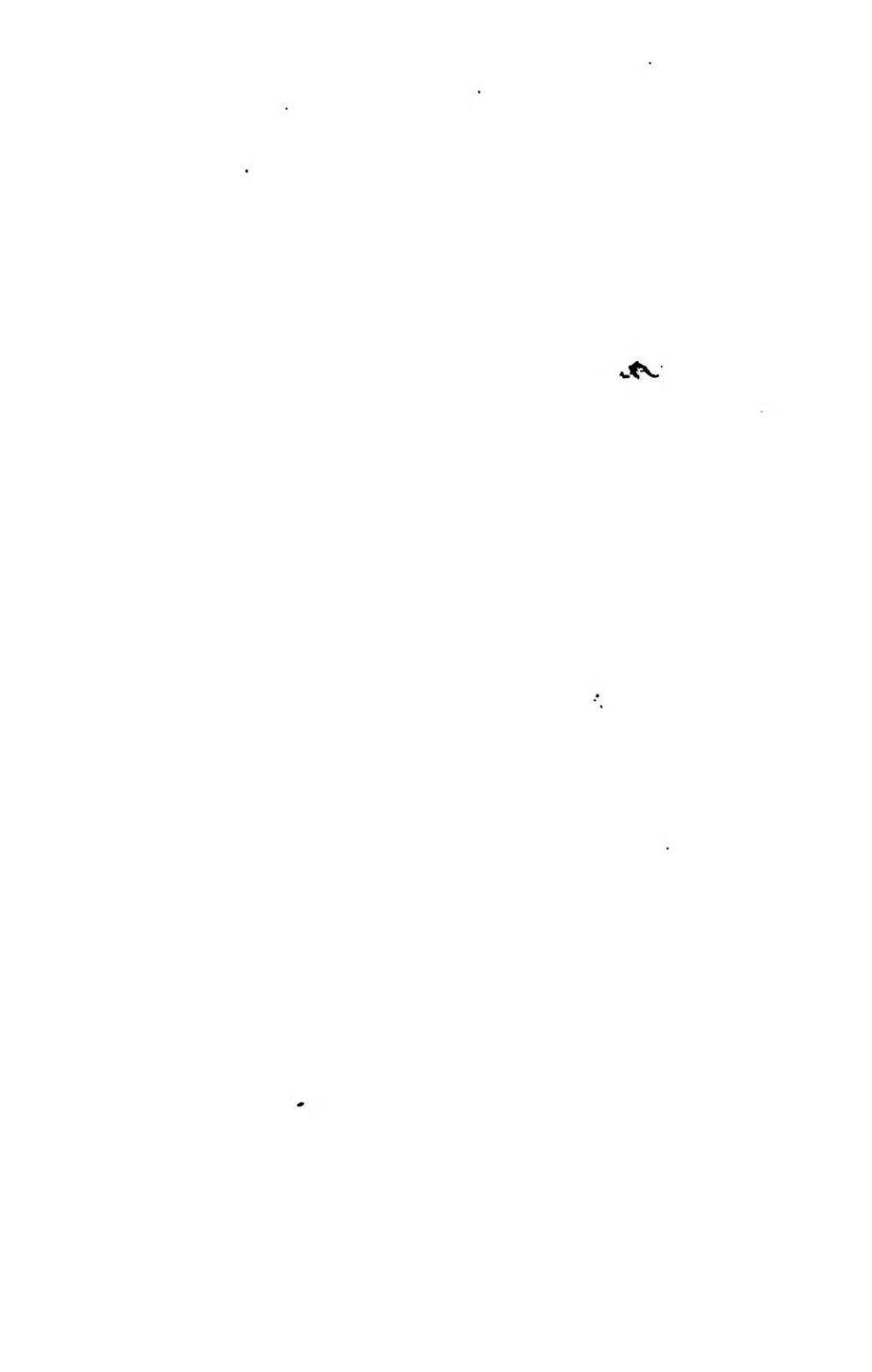
FIG.	PAGE
35. Glass weight of el-Āmir	163
36. Dinār of el-Āmir, Küş, 1123 or 1125	166
37. Dinār of "the experted Imām," Cairo, 1131	167
38. Glass weight of ez-Zāfir	171
39. Dinār of ez-Zāfir, Miṣr, 1149	172
40. Glass weight of el-Ādīd	175
41. Dinār of el-Ādīd, Cairo, 1168	183
42. Glass weight of caliph el-Mustadī, issued by Saladin, 1171	192
43. Dinār of Nūr-ed-dīn, issued by Saladin, Cairo, 1173	196
44. Dinār of Saladin, Cairo, 1179	200
45. Citadel of Cairo (drawn in 1798)	201
46. Saladin's inscription on the Gate of Steps in the Citadel of Cairo, 1183	203
47. Gate of Steps in Citadel of Cairo, 1183	205
48. Dirhem (silver coin) of Saladin, Aleppo, 1186	207
49. Saladin's inscription at church of St. Anne, Jerusalem, 1192	208
50. Dinār of el-Ādīl, Alexandria, 1199	215
51. Carved border of a sheykh's tomb, 1216	219
52. Eagle on Citadel of Cairo, probably early 13th century	228
53. Dinār of el-Kāmil, Alexandria, 1225	229
54. Dinār of es-Śāliḥ Ayyūb, Cairo, 1239	230
55. Inscription on tūmbs of es-Śāliḥ Ayyūb, 1252	231
56. Dinār of queen Sheger-ed-durr, Cairo, 1250	255
57. Dinār of Aybek, Alexandria, 1256	256
58. Dinār of Beybars, Alexandria, 1261	263
59. Lion of Beybars on boss of mosque door, 1268	264
60. Tomb-mosque of Kalā'ün, 1284	283
61. Dinār of Khalil, Cairo, date effaced	285
62. Dinār of Ketbughā, Cairo, 1294-95	290
63. Inscription on medresa (college) of en-Nāṣir at Cairo, 1299	293
64. Arms of a polo-master	302
65. Bowl of an emir of en-Nāṣir in the British Museum	303
66. Inscription in medresa of princess Tatar el-Iligāziya, at Cairo, 1360	307
67. Tower in Citadel of Cairo	309
68. Kursī of en-Nāṣir, 14th century, in the Cairo Museum	311
69. Mosque of Señgar and Salār, 1323	313
70. Arms of emir el-Māridāni, 14th century, from a glass lamp	314
71. Hall of Columns built by en-Nāṣir in Citadel of Cairo, 1313	315
72. Arms of emir Tukuzdemir, from a lamp in the British Museum, 14th century	316
73. Dinār of en-Nāṣir, Cairo, 1340	317
74. Dinar of sultan Hasan, Cairo, 1349	318
75. Palace of emir Yeshbek at Cairo, 1476, adjoining mosque of sultan Hasan	319
76. Memorial inscription in tomb of sultan Hasan, 1384	320
77. Mosque of sultan Hasan, 1362, from the Citadel	321
78. Arms of an emir inlaid in ivory and coloured woods	329

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xi

FIG.		PAGE
79.	Dinār of Barkūk, Aleppo, 1385	330
80.	Pulpit (minbar) in tomb-mosque of Barkūk outside Cairo, 1401-11	331
81.	Enamelled glass lamp of Barkūk in Arab Museum at Cairo	333
82.	Dinār of Farāg, Cairo, 1407	334
83.	Kufic inscription of el-Mu'ayyad	335
84.	Dinār of el-Mu'ayyad, Alexandria, 1415	336
85.	Dinār of Burs-Bey, Alexandria, 1425	340
86.	Dinār of Kāit-Bey, 1468-96	342
87.	Tomb-mosque of Kāit-Bey, 1474	343
88.	Door of mosque of Kāit-Bey, 1474	345
89.	Wekāla or caravanserai of Kāit-Bey, 1477, near Azhar	346
90.	Arms of Kāit-Bey	347
91.	Arms of Kāit-Bey, from a lamp	348
92.	Arms of enīr Ezbek on his mosque, 1495	349
93.	Inscription of Tūmān-Bey I in Citadel of Cairo, 1500	350
94.	Sixteenth century house at Rosetta	351
95.	Dinār of el-Ghūl, Cairo, 1508	352
96.	Arms of commandant Akṭūh, c. 1516	353
97.	Bāb-el-Azab, Gate of the Citadel of Cairo, 18th century	354
98.	Altūn of sultan Suleymān of Turkey, Misr, 1520	355
99.	Yigirmlik of 'Ali Bey, Misr, 1769	356
100.	The Citadel of Cairo in 1859	356
	Plan of Cairo and suburbs in the 12th century	202
	Map of Egypt and adjacent countries	I

* * * The coins and glass weights are reproduced from plaster casts of the originals in the British Museum ; the inscriptions are from M. Max von Berchem's *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (*Mém. de la Miss. archéol. française au Caire*, xix., where French translations are given), except fig. 49, which is from his *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie* (*Mém. de l'Institut Egyptien*, 1897) ; figs. 47 and 67 are from M. Paul Casanova's *Hist. de la Citadelle du Caire* (*Mém. de la Miss. archéol. française au Caire*, vi.) ; the coats of arms are from Rogers Bey's article in the *Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.*, 1880, except fig. 92, which is from H. E. Artin Pasha's article on *Trois différentes armoiries du Kait Bay* (*ibid.*) ; fig. 52 is from an article by Mr. H. C. Kay in the *Journal* of the R. Asiatic Society, N.S., xiv. (1882) : figs. 11, 33, 45, and 71 are from the plates of the *Description de l'Egypte* ; the rest are from photographs, of which figs. 69, 75, 89 and 94 were kindly supplied by Herz Bey, chief architect of the Commission for the Preservation of Arab Monuments in Egypt.



PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES

- DIED**
- c. 695 John, Bishop of Nikiu : *Chronique*, ed. & tr. H. Zotenberg (*Notices et Extraits*, xxiv.), Paris, 1883.
 - 871 Ibn-'Abd-el Hakam : *Futūh Misr* (Paris codex 655 ; cp. *Zeitschr. für Kunde d. Morgenl.* iii., 1840).
 - 889 Ibn-Kutayba : ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850.
 - 892 El-Bilādhuri : *Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat., 1866.
 - 923 Et-Talabī : *Annales*, ed. de Goeje et alii, 13 vols., Lugd. Bat. 1879-96.
 - 956 El-Mas'ūdi : *Les Prairies d'or*, Arab. et Fr., ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols., Paris, 1861-1873.
 - 977 'Arib b. Sa'd el-Kurtubī : *Tabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat., 1897.
 - 1185 William of Tyre : *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*Rec. Hist. des Croisades*), Paris, 1844.
 - 1188 Osāma ibn Munkidh : *Kitāb el-I'tibār ; Vie d'Ousama*, ed. & tr. H. Derenbourg, 3 vols., Paris, 1886-93.
 - c. 1208 Abū-Śāliḥ : *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Arab. and Engl., ed. B. T. A. Evets, Anecd. Oxoniens., 1895.
 - 1231 'Abd-el-Latif : *Historia Ægypti Compendium*, Arab. et Lat., ed. J. White, Oxon., 1800 ; *Relation de l'Egypte*, tr. S. de Sacy, Paris, 1810.
 - 1233 Ibn-el-Athīr : *Chronicon (el-Kūmil)*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 14 vols. Lugd. Bat., 1867-74.
 - 1234 Bahā-ed-din ibn Sheddād : *Vita Saladini*, Arab. et Lat., ed. Schultens, Lugd. Bat., 1732 ; and in *Rec. Hist. des Croisades*, iii., 1884.
 - 1267 Abū-Shāma : *Kitāb er-Rawdatayn*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1870-1871.
 - 1275 El-Mekīn : *Historia Saracenica*, Arab. et Lat., ed. T. Erpenius, Lugd. Bat., 1625.
 - 1282 Ibn-Khallikān : *Wefāyāt el-A'yān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1835-50 ; *Biographical Dictionary*, tr. M. de Slane, 4 vols., Paris, 1843-71.
 - 1307 Joinville : *Mémoires*, ed. M. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1881.
 - 1331 Abū-l-Fidā : *Annales Muslēmīci*, Arab. et Lat., ed. Reiske et Adler, Hafniae, 1788-93.

DIED

- 1377 Ibn-Batūṭa : *Voyages*, Arab. et Fr., ed. C. Desfrémery et Sanguineti, 4 vols., Paris, 1873-9.
- 1406 Ibn-Khalḍūn : *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*, 7 vols., Būlāk, 1867-8.
- 1418 El-Ḫalqashandi : *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten*, tr. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1879.
- 1441 El-Maqrīzī : *Khīṭāṭ*, 2 vols., Būlāk, 1853-4.
" *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. E. Quatremère, 2 vols., Paris, 1837-45.
- 1469 Abū-l-Mahā-in : *Annales (en-Nuṣūm ez-Zāhira)*, ed. Juynboll, 3 vols., Lugd. Bat., 1855-61.
- 1505 Es-Suyūṭī : *Husn al-Mohādara*, 2 vols., Būlāk.
" *History of the Caliphs*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1881.
- 1524 Ibn-İyās : *Kitāb Ta’rīkh Miṣr*, Cairo, 1893.

Other authorities are cited in footnotes.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION.

The Arabic alphabet is thus represented : ِ in the middle of a word by ِ (as el-Ma·mūn), َ b, َ t, َ th, َ g (English j, but in Lower Egypt pronounced as hard g in "get"), َ h, َ kh, َ d, َ dh (as th in "this"), َ r, َ z, َ s, َ sh, َ ص, َ ض, َ d, َ ط, َ ظ, َ ع, َ غ, َ ف, َ ق, َ k, َ ك, َ l, َ م, َ n, َ ه, َ و, َ ي. The Persian گ is represented by g. The vowels and diphthongs are َ a or e (according to the rules of imāla), ُ u or o, ِ i; ِ َ a, ِ َ u; ِ َ aw, ِ َ ey or ay. When a name is repeated the article is often omitted ; as El-Hākim and Hākim. Ibn (son) is abbreviated as b. D stands for dīnār, a gold coin worth about half a guinea.

CORRIGENDA

PAGE

40	<i>for</i> Ghauth	<i>read</i> Ghawth
48	.. Handhala	.. Hanżala
76	.. Härün	.. Härün
85	.. Ghaṭas	.. Għiṭas
105	.. Ḧigāz	.. Ḧigāz
106	.. Ṭyy	.. Tayy
111	.. el-Väzuri	.. el-Väzuri
129	.. Ommayyad	.. Omayyad
148	.. Däbük	.. Debiķ
151	.. Amīr	.. Emīr
155	.. Aydhäb	.. ‘Aydhäb
160	.. Hassän	.. Hassän
166	.. Abū-Nejāḥ	.. Abū-Negħāḥ
166	.. ‘Abdu-el-Megid	.. ‘Abd-el-Meġid
179	.. Atfih	.. Atfih
192	.. Akaba	.. ‘Akaba
296	.. naphtha	.. naphtha
299	.. Aradus	.. Antaradus
330	.. Sarkhab	.. Sarkhad

A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER THE SARACENS

CHAPTER I

THE ARAB CONQUEST

639—641

Authorities.—John of Nikiu, Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam, el-Bilādhuri, et-Tabarī. Later accounts from el-Maqrīzī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, es-Suyūṭī.

MOHAMMAD, the prophet of the Arabs, died in 632. In a few years his followers overran Arabia, Syria, and Chaldaea, defeating the forces of the Emperor of Constantinople and the “Chosroes” or Sāsānian king of Persia; and in 639 the Arabs invaded Egypt. The caliph 'Omar yielded with reluctance to the urgent representations of the general, 'Amr ibn el-'Āṣī, and even stipulated that if a letter of recall should reach the army before it entered Egyptian territory, it was to march back to Medina. The letter was sent, but 'Amr contrived to cross the frontier before opening it, and thus effected his purpose. He had visited Alexandria in his youth, and had never forgotten its wealth. The expedition was arranged whilst the caliph and 'Amr ⁶³⁹ were together near Damascus on their return from

Jerusalem in the autumn of 639, and 'Amr kept the Feast of Sacrifice (10 Dhū'l-Hijjā, A.H. 18), 12 Dec. 639, at el-Arish, the frontier town of Egypt.

The invading army mustered 3,500 or 4,000 men, but was quickly reinforced by a second body of 4,000. They were almost all horsemen, armed with lances and swords and bows. The first opposition the Saracens met was at Pelusium (el-Faramā), where the Roman¹ garrison held out for a month, until the success of the besiegers was attained partly through the aid of the Copt or native Egyptian population, who were eager to welcome any prospect of release from the oppression of the eastern empire. The schism definitely opened at the council of Chaledon in A.D. 451 had established a sharp hostility between the national monophysite or "Jacobite" church of Egypt and the official "Chalcedonian" or "Melekite" church which the emperors of Constantinople supported in Egypt; and the Melekite persecution of the Jacobites, who formed the great bulk of the Egyptians, had alienated whatever trace of loyalty the people might have retained towards their distant sovereigns, and had prepared the way for foreign intervention. Indeed, the Persians had quite lately (616) conquered the country, and had only been ejected by the Romans a few years (626) before the Arab invasion. The Egyptians had served many foreign masters, and had suffered under all, so that a change of rulers signified little, and any change from Byzantine intolerance would probably, in their eyes, be for the better. This widespread disaffection contributed to the easy triumph of the Arabs. It was first seen in the taking of Pelusium, when the patriarch, called by the Arabs "Abū-Miaymin" (possibly meaning the banished Jacobite patriarch Benjamin), advised the Copts to support the invaders.

The Romans made a second stand at Bilbeys, some thirty miles from Misr, where another month was spent

¹ The term Roman is used throughout, in preference to Greek, for the east Roman or Byzantine empire. In Arabic the Byzantines are always called *ar-Rūmī*; in the sing. *Rūmī*.

in the siege¹; and after the fall of Bilbeys, 'Amr had again to fight the Romans at Umm-Duneyn, a village or suburb which stood near the present 'Ab'din quarter of Cairo. The Saracens were once more successful; but before proceeding further 'Amr appealed to the caliph for more troops, and a second reinforcement was sent, bringing the army up to 12,000 men.² Part of this force was on the west bank of the Nile, advancing upon Asyût and Behnesa, and trying to penetrate into the Fayyûm, where they were opposed by Theodosius the dux of the Thebaid, and by the general John of Mârûs; but the main body was on the east bank, posted in the neighbourhood of the city of Miṣr, or "Babylon of Egypt," a northern extension of the ancient Memphis.³ The city was defended by a large Roman army, and guarded by a strong fortress, rebuilt by Turbo in 116, the remains of

¹ The romantic legend of the defence of Bilbeys by Armenosa, the daughter of the prefect George el-Mukawkis, rests only upon the authority of el-Wakîdi, and cannot be accepted without reserve. It may be read in Mrs. Butcher's *Story of the Church of Egypt*, i. 359, 360, or more fully in Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, i. 53, 54.

² According to another tradition, ez-Zubeyr brought 12,000 men to reinforce 'Amr. The figures cannot be relied on, but the total force of the Arabs was evidently small.

³ Memphis itself existed, though in decay, at the time of the Arab conquest, but as it is never mentioned by the chroniclers, its inhabited portion must be intended when they speak of "Miṣr." There is much obscurity about this city of Miṣr at this period, which is increased by the word Miṣr being used also to signify Egypt. The Arabic writers speak constantly of Babylon (Babilîyûn) as though it were a fortress and nothing else, and there is very little evidence for the independent existence of a city of Babylon or Miṣr apart from the fortress. It is only in John of Nikiu's chronicle that we find a distinction between the taking of Miṣr and the surrender of the fortress. In the sixth century, however, Hierocles and George the Cyprian both mention Memphis, but not Babylon; and there must have been an inhabited city representing the ancient Memphis, and probably forming a more modern and northern extension of it. One would expect to find it on the west bank of the Nile, but all the authorities concur in placing Miṣr on the east bank, in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Babylon. Tendûnyâs, on the other hand, seems from John of Nikiu's account to have been on the west bank. Memphis was an immense city, and may have extended, with its suburbs of Miṣr and Tendûnyâs, across the river as far as the fortress of Babylon.

which still stand under the name of *Kaṣr-esh-Shemā'*, "the castle of the candle." 'Amr divided his forces into three corps, one of which he posted to the north of Babylon, the second was stationed at Tendūnyās (apparently a fortified suburb on the west bank to the south-west of Babylon), and the third withdrew northwards to Heliopolis (On, 'Ayn-Shems), in the hope of tempting the Romans out of their fortifications, upon which the other two corps were to fall on their rear or flank. The manoeuvre succeeded. The Romans marched out of their fortifications, and attacked the Saracens at Heliopolis, but, being themselves taken in rear by the other divisions, were routed and driven to the Nile, where they took to their boats and fled down the river. Upon this the Muslims occupied Tendūnyās, the garrison of which had perished in the battle, except 300 men who shut themselves up in the fort, whence they retired by boat to Nikiu. The taking of Tendūnyās was evidently followed by, or synonymous with, the taking of the whole city of Misr, except its citadel, which was blockaded: for John of Nikiu, from whose almost contemporary chronicle this account is taken, mentions no subsequent siege or conquest of the city of Misr, but only the later reduction of the fortress.¹ The defeat of the Romans at Heliopolis was so complete that not only Misr, the chief city of that part, fell into the hands of the Saracens, but even in the Fayyūm Domentianus, the praeses of Arcadia, secretly escaped from the chief town, deserted the Roman troops scattered about middle Egypt, and hurried down the Nile to Nikiu; whereupon the Arabs took Medinet-el-Fayyūm, Asyūt, and eventually Behnesa, with great slaughter.¹

¹ In the rubric of John of Nikiu's chronicle the conquest of Misr is carefully distinguished from the conquest of the fortress of Babylon. The former is placed in Anno Indictionis XIV., which corresponds to 1 Sept. 640—31 Aug. 641, and the fall of Babylon in XV. The latter date cannot be sustained satisfactorily, but the distinction between the two events, and the emphasis laid on the interval between them, are important. The rubric is the work of the Arabic translator, according to M. Zotenberg, but it may be assumed that he had earlier data to go upon, otherwise he would scarcely have used the Indiction chronology.

The Arabic accounts of the conquest of Miṣr conflict with each other, and with that given above, in many details, but confirm the main fact of the victory at Heliopolis (which must have taken place before the inundation covered the land, i.e., before September), and record the subsequent occupation of Miṣr during the inundation. They add various stories of negotiations, and even entertainments, between the Egyptians and the Arabs, which ended in a formal treaty. We read of a certain Abū-Maryam, a "catholic" (*g̥athalik*) of Miṣr, who joined 'Amr's army, accompanied by a bishop, and endeavoured to arrange terms. 'Amr showed them goodwill; enlarged on the friendly disposition of the late prophet Mohammad towards the Copts,¹ in virtue of their traditional kinship through Hagar, the Egyptian mother of Ishmael, the ancestor of the prophet; and offered them the usual choice—to embrace Islām or to pay the special poll-tax levied by the conquerors on all non-Muslims. Abū-Maryam and the bishop were anxious that the latter alternative should be accepted; but the Roman commander "Artabūn"² would not listen to it. He was killed in attempting to surprise the Saracens by a night attack; the battle of Heliopolis followed; ez-Zubeyr escalated Miṣr and opened a gate; and the Egyptians sued for peace. The treaty ran as follows, according to the Arab tradition recorded by Ṭabari: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, this is the amnesty which 'Amr ibn el-'Āṣī granted to the people of Miṣr, as to themselves, their religion, their goods, their churches and crosses, their lands and waters: nothing of these shall be meddled with or minished; the Nubians shall not be permitted to dwell among them. And the people of Miṣr, if they enter into this treaty of peace, shall pay the *g̥izya* (poll-tax), when the inundation of their river

¹ For the traditions see Abū-Šāliḥ, . 286, and Mr. Evett's notes and references.

Also called by the Arabs el-Mandakūr (or Mandhafūr) ibn Kurkub, and in Arabic nicknamed el-A'rag or el-U'eyrīq, "the viper."

has subsided, fifty thousand thousand.¹ And each one of them is responsible for [acts of violence which] robbers among them may commit. And as for those who will not enter into this treaty the sum of the tax shall be diminished [to the rest] in proportion; but we have no responsibility towards such. If the rise of the Nile is less than usual, the tax shall be reduced in proportion to the decrease. Romans and Nubians who enter into their [the people of Misr's] covenant shall be treated in the like manner. And whoso rejects [the treaty] and chooses to go away, he is protected till he reach a place of safety or leave our kingdom. The collection of the taxes shall be by thirds, one third at each time. For [sureties for] this covenant stand the security and warranty of God, and the warranty of His Prophet, and the warranty of the caliph, the commander of the faithful, and the warranty of the believers Witnessed by ez-Zubeyr, and his sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad, and written by Wardān." (Tabari i. 2588.)

The negotiation of this treaty of peace is attributed by most Arabic historians to a certain Girgis (or G'ureyq) or George, son of Menas, el-Mukawkis, who has been magnified as the chief ruler of Egypt, and denounced as the supreme traitor to Christianity.² At first, indeed, he

¹ This is probably a slip for "pay the poll-tax [of two dinārs a head] and fifty million dirhems in land-tax (*kharāq*)", for it would be the land-tax, not the poll-tax, that would be modified in proportion to the fertility dependent upon the extent of the inundation. Ibn-Khaldūn, quoting registers of the latter half of the 8th c., gives the land-tax of Egypt as nearly forty-four million dirhems. Abū-Ṣalih says (f. 22a) that 'Amr imposed a yearly tax of 26²/₃ dirhems (i.e. two dinārs) on all, but two dinārs and three *ardebbs* of wheat on all rich men; in this way the country produced twelve million dinārs, as the population (he assumes), excluding children and aged men, was six millions. The dinār, henceforward generally abbreviated as *D.*, contained rather more gold than our half-sovereign, and may be roughly called a half-guinea.

² A "Muḳawkis" had certainly been in communication with the Arabian prophet in 628, and had sent him two slave-girls, a white mule, a pot of Benhā honey, and other gifts; one of the damsels, Mary the Copt, of the curly hair, became the Apostle's concubine; but since Muḳawkis is stated by the Arabic writers to be only the title of the successive Roman governors of Egypt (possibly a corruption of the

opposed the Saracens, but after the fall of Miṣr, during which he and most of the troops are said to have retreated to the opposite island (afterwards called "the Island of the Garden," G'ezirat-er-Rōda), he opened communications with 'Amr, hoping to obtain easier terms if he could manage to conclude a treaty before the inundation subsided, which then hemmed in the Muslims; and peace was made on the basis of a poll-tax of two dinārs (about a guinea) per head, excluding women and children and aged men, together with a moderate land-tax, and the obligation of three days' hospitality to Muslims—apparently a form of contribution to the keep of the Arab army. The Egyptians accepted these terms, and the Romans were given the choice of acceptance or a retreat to Alexandria.¹ When the

Greek μεγαυχής, "most glorious," as suggested by Karabaček, *Mittheil. aus d. Samml. d. Papyr. Erzherzog Rainer*, i. 1-11), Mohammad's correspondent may have been a different person from the Muḳawķis of 640. That 'Amr had relations with a certain "George the prefect" is clear, for John of Nikiu states that, after the conquest of Miṣr and the Fayyūm, 'Amr "sent orders to George the prefect to make a bridge over the canal of Kalyūb," to facilitate further conquests in the delta, and adds that "it was then that they [the Egyptians] began to assist the Muslims." This George, who may have been praeses of Augustamnica (Milne, *Egypt under Roman Rule*, 225), was probably George, son of Menas, the Muḳawķis of the Arab traditions (though they make him the governor of all Egypt, ruling from Alexandria), and his assistance after the taking of Miṣr supplies a clue to the elaborate stories related by the Arabic chroniclers. 'Amr's orders to George imply previous relations, and as some one must have conducted the peace negotiations on the Christian side, and as it was more likely to be an Egyptian than a Roman, there is no improbability in the Arab tradition that el-Mukawķis was the negotiator.

¹ Probably it is this treaty that is referred to by Nicephorus, who says (28, ed. Bonn) that the patriarch Cyrus (perhaps the "bishop" of the Arabic traditions) was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor Heraclius, and censured for having agreed to pay tribute to the Muslims. Theophanes (518, ed. Bonn) also mentions a treaty, by which Cyrus agreed to pay 'Amr 120,000 denaria, and did pay this tribute for three years; but he seems to refer to the second treaty on the surrender of Alexandria. In the confused accounts of the Greek writers there is a prevailing idea that the patriarch agreed at an early date to pay tribute to the Arabs. See J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 271.

emperor repudiated the treaty, the Muḳawķis went to 'Amr, and said, though the Romans continued the war, he would stand by his word. He begged three things of the Arab general—that the covenant with the Egyptians should not be broken; that no peace should be made with the Romans until they were all made slaves, as they deserved, and their goods declared spoils; and that, if he died, he might be buried in the church of St. John at Alexandria. 'Amr agreed, and thenceforth most of the Egyptians, or Copts as they may now be called, abetted the Muslims in the war against the Romans, and helped in the transport and supplies.

'Amr's first proceeding after the taking of Miṣr was to make a bridge near the city so as to reopen communications with the west bank. The pontoon also served to arrest the procession of fugitive Romans down the river to Nikiu and Alexandria. Having got his men together, and brought the detachments from the west bank across to the east, he vigorously pressed the siege of the fortress of Babylon, which at length fell, on 9 April, 641.¹

⁶⁴¹ The Arabic historians relate various anecdotes of the siege of Babylon, which are chiefly interesting as representing current traditions as to the impression produced by the invaders upon the Romans and Egyptians. The simplicity of manners, devoutness, and heroic courage of the Arabs are chiefly dwelt upon. For example, it is told how an Arab dismounted one day from his horse to say his appointed prayers, when a party of Romans, richly accoutred, sallied out of the fortress to surprise him. As they drew near, he interrupted his devotions, mounted his horse, and charged upon them. Taken aback by his hardihood, they took to their heels, throwing down their arms and accoutrements in their haste. The Arab took no notice of these spoils, but

¹ This date is John of Nikiu's, who says it was the second day after Easter, though he gives the wrong year, XV. Ind., instead of XIV. (cp. Brooks, *Byz. Ztschr.* iv. 440). It is confirmed by the Persian version of Tabari, which places the fall of Babylon in the month Rabi' II. of A.H. 20 (20 March—17 April, 641), but this is not in the Leyden edition of the Arabic text.

after chasing them into the fortress, quietly returned to the spot where he had been disturbed, and finished his prayers. Again, when the messengers from the Muḳawķis, after being entertained some days in 'Amr's camp, returned to their master, he asked them to describe the Arabs. They answered, "We found a people who love death better than life, and set humility above pride, who have no desire or enjoyment in this world, who sit in the dust and eat upon their knees, but frequently and thoroughly wash all their members, and humble themselves in prayer : a people in whom the stronger can scarce be distinguished from the weaker, or the master from the slave."

When the fortress of Babylon was taken, the Arab general prepared to march north as soon as the Nile had returned to its banks. After the victory at Heliopolis, he had sent several detachments to different parts, to the Sa'īd (Upper Egypt) and the Fayyūm, as well as north towards Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnis on the coast. They met with little resistance in most parts, and imposed the usual terms (poll-tax and land-tax) upon the submissive population ; the Roman troops were concentrated in a few large cities. 'Amr himself, after establishing a strong force at Misr, and mooring a fleet of boats under the wall of the fortress, at that time washed by the Nile, marched down the east bank to engage Theodorus the augustal prefect. He found however, that the prefect and most of the Roman army had retired to Alexandria, leaving Domentianus at Nikiu, and Dares of Semennūd to guard "the two rivers." On the approach of the Arabs Domentianus fled from Nikiu and took boat for Alexandria. The Arabs then entered Nikiu unopposed on 13 May, 641 (18 Genbōt, Ind. xv. [*lege* xiv.] according to John of Nikiu), and are said to have massacred all the inhabitants and perpetrated atrocious cruelty throughout the "island of Nikiu," enclosed between the arms of the Nile. From Nikiu 'Amr pressed northwards, taking Athribis and Busiris, Damsis and Sakhā, anxious to subdue the whole of the delta before the inundation should check

operations. He was repulsed, however, at Damietta, and finding himself impeded by the canals and arms of the river, returned to Miṣr, whence he made a fresh start. Choosing this time the west bank, he marched by way of Terenuthis, fought three battles with the Romans, and reached Kiryawn, twenty miles south of Alexandria. The first attack was repulsed, but the capital was then torn by factions, "Blues" and "Greens," Byzantines and Nationals, Greeks and Copts, and was in no condition for resistance; Theodorus, the augustal prefect, was at Rhodes, and Domentianus was a poor substitute, and was at enmity with his colleague, Menas, the prefect of Lower Egypt. The distracted state of the city and the general panic can alone explain the surrender of a well-fortified stronghold which could be provisioned and reinforced at will by sea.

Accordingly, when the Arabs arrived near Alexandria, they found the enemy eager to treat. The report of a man who served under 'Amr at the taking of Miṣr and Alexandria has been handed down and preserved by Tabari (i. 2581-3). This man, Ziyād ez-Zubeydi, said that after taking Babylon the Muslim army advanced into the Rif (delta) between Miṣr and Alexandria, and arrived at Belhib, where the governor of Alexandria sent to 'Amr, offering to pay the poll-tax on condition that the Roman prisoners should be surrendered. 'Amr replied that he must refer the proposal to the caliph at Medina; he wrote what the governor had said, and the letter was read to the troops. They waited at Belhib, during the armistice, till the caliph 'Omar's answer came. 'Amr read it aloud. It required the Alexandrians to pay the poll-tax; the prisoners were to be given the choice of accepting Islām or remaining true to the religion of their own folk; if they chose Islām, they belonged to the Muslims; if they held to their own creed, they should be sent back to Alexandria; but those prisoners who had already been sent to Arabia could not be returned. So they gave the remaining prisoners their choice, and when some chose Islām, the army shouted "*Allāhu Akbar*," "God is Most Great,"—

"it was the loudest Te Deum (*tekbîr*)," said Ziyâd, "that we had shouted since we conquered the land." The rest returned to Alexandria, and the amount of the poll-tax was fixed. Thus Alexandria capitulated and the Muslims entered in.

John of Nikiu, like Ziyâd, mentions no prolonged siege of Alexandria, but says that the patriarch Cyrus, who had returned from Constantinople armed with full powers to treat, went to 'Amr at Babylon¹ to propose terms of peace and offer tribute, and it was settled that the Alexandrians should pay a monthly tribute, and deliver up 150 soldiers and 50 civilians as hostages; that the Muslims should not interfere with the churches and affairs of the Christians; that the Jews (who doubtless helped to furnish the tribute money), should be allowed to remain at Alexandria; and that the Muslims should hold aloof from the city for eleven months, after which the Romans would embark and leave the city, and no other Roman army would be sent to regain it. They embarked on 17 September (642), which, if the term of eleven months was strictly observed, would make the date of the treaty of capitulation October, 641.²

¹ Possibly a transcriber's error for Belhib; the two could be easily confounded in a careless Arabic MS., from which the Ethiopic version of John of Nikiu appears to have been made. But as Cyrus was back in Egypt before Easter, 641, he might have sound 'Amr at Babylon, and there begun the negotiations which were continued at Belhib.

² The received tradition, however, recorded by many of the Arab historians, is that Alexandria endured a siege of fourteen months, during which the Muslims lost more than 20,000 men; and many incidents of this siege have been handed down, some of which may really refer to the later reconquest of the city in 645. They state that at the time of the battle of Heliopolis several detachments were sent to various parts of Egypt, and one went to Alexandria. There may have been a corps of observation near Alexandria for fourteen months, but the story of a siege is contradicted by Ziyâd's plain tale, as well as by John of Nikiu. The Arab siege material, moreover, must have been extremely weak. Though they early made use of mangonels and stone-slings, these could hardly have been powerful enough to reduce the forts of Alexandria. The legends of 'Amr being made prisoner, and eluding discovery by the presence of mind of his slave, and of his narrow escape in a bath, are improbable. What the relations were between the Muslims and the Romans during the eleven months of

The Muslim writers describe Alexandria as it was in 642 with their customary exaggeration : it had, they say, 400 theatres, 4000 public baths, &c., and its population numbered 600,000 (without reckoning women and children), of whom 200,000 were Romans, and 70,000 Jews. Of any destruction or spoliation by the Arabs there is not a word in any of the early authorities, nor, since the city capitulated on terms, was any spoliation permissible. John of Nikiu records that 'Amr levied the taxes agreed upon, but took nothing from the churches, nor wrought any deed of pillage or spoliation, but protected them throughout his government. The story of the destruction of "the Alexandrian library," and the distributing of the books to light the fires in the 4000 public baths, is found in no early record. It is not mentioned by any Greek writer, nor by John of Nikiu, Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam, or Tabari. It first appears in the thirteenth century, six hundred years after the alleged event, in the works of 'Abd-el-Lajif and Abū-l-Farag. It is absolutely contradictory to John of Nikiu's account of 'Amr's protecting policy. The legend may have had its origin in the destruction of books of the fire-worshippers during the Arab conquest of Persia.

grace we do not know. It is recorded by John of Nikiu that the Muslims came to Alexandria to collect the poll-tax, and that disturbances ensued, which were allayed by Cyrus the patriarch ; but whether, after this, the Muslims occupied Alexandria, as the Arabic historians would have us believe, or (as seems more probable) received the tax outside the city, and observed the truce, there is no evidence to show. According to a tradition repeated by several Arabic historians, Alexandria was taken by storm, but almost immediately retaken by the Romans, who were then driven out a second time, and fled by sea and land, but this may refer either to the disturbances caused by the collection of the poll-tax, or to the second conquest of Alexandria from Manuel in 645. The fact, generally admitted, that the Alexandrians were allowed to pay the poll-tax, instead of having all their property confiscated, is presumptive evidence of a capitulation, though some of the chroniclers explain it away as an act of grace. There was an obvious motive on the part of the Arabs to represent that Egypt was conquered *vi et armis*, because a country so conquered would, according to Mohammadan law, be deprived of all rights, and be exposed to confiscations, which would not be the case if it had capitulated upon terms.

One anecdote of the alleged siege of Alexandria may be quoted as illustrating the spirit which inspired the Arab warriors. 'Amr's son 'Abdallāh was severely wounded, and groaning in his pain he let the regret escape that his father would not lead his army back to peace and rest. 'Amr's reply was typical of the race : "Rest," he said, "is in front of you, not behind."¹

¹ The chronology of the Arab conquest of Egypt is almost hopelessly bewildering, and the difficulties are too complex to be discussed here. The account given above is based chiefly upon John of Nikiu and Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam, compared with Talāri and later historians. John's chronicle, however, is obviously transposed in some of its chapters, and I have transferred chapters cxvi.-cxvii. to precede cxiv. I am glad to see that Mr. E. W. Brooks, who has carefully examined the subject in the *Rzyzantinische Zeitschrift*, iv. 435-444, has arrived independently at the same conclusion with regard to this transposition. It implies the correction of the date XV. Ind. in ch. xv. for the northern march to Damietta, which must have been in the late spring or early summer (before the inundation) of 641 (i.e. XIV. Ind.). In the same way the XV. Ind. given in the rubric for the fall of Babylon fortress must be corrected to XIV. Such slips are not surprising in an Ethiopic version translated from a probable Arabic version of a probable Coptic original. The one valuable date supplied by the Arabic historians is Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam's statement that 'Amr celebrated the Feast of Sacrifice, 10 Dhū-Higga, A.H. 18, i.e. 12 Dec., 639, at el-'Arish on entering Egypt; the other dates of Arabic writers frequently conflict with each other and cannot be relied upon; but the references to the Nile inundation help to fix the season and order of events. The one date in John of Nikiu on which there seems to be no ground for doubt is that of the death of the patriarch Cyrus on "25 Magabit, the Thursday before Easter," which can only be 21 March, 642. The importance of this date is that it fixes the last celebration of Easter by Cyrus (a ceremony specially described by John) as Easter, 641, and makes his negotiation of the capitulation of Alexandria, for which he had been sent back by the emperor armed with full powers, fall certainly in 641, not 642. Another important indication is furnished by the Arabic historians' statement that Alexandria capitulated nine months after the death of Heraclius. His death took place on Feb. 11, 641, and the ninth month would therefore fall in October to November, which allows the stated term of eleven months before the evacuation on Sept. 17, 642. The traditional Arabic date for the capitulation, 1 Moharram, 20 A.H. (21 Dec., 640), is incredible as to the month: but the year 20 given by the earliest chroniclers, Ibn-Ishāk and el-Wākidī, as quoted by Talāri (i. 2579 ff.), for the conquests of Babylon and Alexandria, agrees with the data given above, and is confirmed by Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam's statement that Alexandria fell in the eighth year

CHAPTER II

A PROVINCE OF THE CALIPHATE

641—968

Authorities.—Ibn-‘Abd-el-Hakam; Abū-Salih, Ibn-Khallikān, el-Makrizī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, es-Suyūtī.

Monuments.—Nilometer on island of er-Ridla.

Inscriptions.—Gravestones from Fustat and Aswān in Cairo Museum, Miss. archéol. française, Egypt. Inst., and private collections at Cairo, and a few in Europe (Brit. Mus., Louvre, Vatican).

Coins.—A few of the caliphate coins struck at Misr (Fustat) bear the names of governors.

Glass weights and stamps.—Many show the names of governors, treasurers, and other officials (see pp. 47—56).

641. THE surrender of Alexandria was the last important act in the conquest of Egypt. No serious resistance was encountered elsewhere, and the whole country from Eyla on the Red Sea to Barka on the Mediterranean, and from the first cataract of the Nile to its embouchure, became a province of the Muslim caliphate. The Arabs spread over the country during the winter of 641-2, restoring order and levying taxes, for ‘Amr was not the man to keep them idle : “ Go forth,” he said, “ now that the season is gracious : when the milk curdles, and the

of the reign of ‘Omar, which began in the middle of A.H. 20. The two dates, April and October, 641, for the taking of Babylon and the capitulation of Alexandria respectively, completely bear out the prevalent Arabic tradition that Babylon fell after a seven months’ siege, and Alexandria after fourteen months. The siege of Babylon would thus have begun in Sept., 640, immediately after the fall of Misr, during the inundation, and the appearance of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria (though not a siege) would be brought to the same month.

leaves wither and the mosquitoes multiply, come back to your tents." Even Nubia was made tributary by an expedition of 20,000 men, under 'Amr's lieutenant 'Abd-allāh b. Sa'd. The Copts, who had aided the invaders, welcomed the change of masters, and were rewarded. 'Amr retained Menas the prefect in his government for a time, and appointed Shinūda and Philoxenos governors of the Rif and the Fayyūm : all three were of course friendly with the Muslims, and exerted themselves to levy the taxes. Alexandria, the monthly tribute of which was rated at 22,000 pieces of gold,¹ was squeezed by Menas till it paid over 32,000. Many Egyptians became Moḥammadans to escape the poll-tax ; others hid themselves because they could not pay. In the country towns and villages, the conquerors mixed with the conquered, and the maidens of Sulteys in the delta became the mothers of famous Muslims by their willing union with Arab warriors.

The capital of Egypt was no longer to be Alexandria. The great commercial emporium was liable to be cut off by the Nile inundation from land communication with Medina, then the seat of the caliphate ; and the caliph 'Omar was so far from thinking of permanent colonisation, and so averse from depriving himself of the services of 'Amr's fine army, that he forbade the soldiers to acquire land and take root in Egypt, in order that they might always be ready for a fresh campaign elsewhere. Alexandria, moreover, was the symbol of Roman dominion and the tyranny of the orthodox church, and was therefore distasteful to the Copts. 'Amr was ordered by the caliph to select a more central position, and he chose the plain close to the fortress of Babylon, and not far north of the old Egyptian capital Memphis, where his camp had been pitched during the siege of Misr. Here he

¹ These must be solidi, represented by the Arabic dinār. Belādhurī mentions (223) that the poll-tax of Alexandria in about 730 was raised from the previous sum of 18,000 to 36,000 *D.* At the rate of two dinārs a head per annum, this monthly payment implies a taxable male population not exceeding 192,000 in 'Amr's time, and 216,000 a century later.



FIG. 1.—Mosque of 'Amr at Fustat.

built his mosque, which still stands, though repeatedly altered or restored;¹ and here he began the foundation of the city which he called el-Fustāt, "the tent," on the spot where, according to the story, when he marched north to take Alexandria, his tent had been left standing, because he would not suffer his farrāshes to disturb the doves which were building their nest there. Fustāt remained the capital of Egypt for more than three centuries, until el-Kāhira (Cairo) was founded close by in 969; and, even after that, it continued to be the commercial, as distinguished from the official, capital, until burned on the invasion of the crusading king Amalric in 1168. "The site of Fustāt," says el-Makrizi (*Khitāt*, i. 286), the most learned authority on Egyptian topography, "which is now called the city of Miṣr, was waste land and sown fields from the Nile to the eastern mountain called G'ebel-el-Muqāṭṭam; there were no buildings there except the fortress, now called the Castle of the Candle (*Kaṣr-esh-Shemā'*)² and el-Mo'allaḳa. There the Roman governor who ruled Egypt for the Caesars used to stay when he came from Alexandria . . . This fortress overlooked the Nile, and the boats came close up to the western gate . . . In the neighbourhood of the fortress on the north were trees and vineyards, and this became the site of the Old Mosque [or Mosque of 'Amr]. Between the fortress and the mountain were many churches and convents of the Christians." The new

¹ Nothing of the original structure remains. It was "a simple oblong room, 28.9 metres by 17.3; the low roof, no doubt, supported by a few columns, . . . the walls probably of baked, but very possibly only unbaked, bricks, and unplastered; the floor pebble strewn; the light probably supplied, as in the great colonnade at the present day, through square apertures in the roof. It possessed no minarets or other attractive outside feature; no niche nor any other internal decoration" (E. K. Corbet, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xxii.). In this humble building the conqueror of Egypt, as the caliph's representative, led the public prayers, and preached the sermon, standing on the floor, for the caliph forbade the elevation of a pulpit. 'Amr's own house was opposite the main entrance of the mosque.

² Possibly from the candles used in the Coptic churches there. Mr. A. J. Butler suggests (Abū-Ṣāliḥ, f. 21a) that the name may be a corruption of *Kaṣr-el-Khemī*, the "castle of Egypt."

capital spread rapidly, and soon became one of the chief cities of the Mohammadan empire.

Henceforward, for two centuries and a quarter, Egypt was but one of the provinces of the Muslim caliphate. The Arabs appear to have made no sweeping changes in its administration : they were a conspicuously adaptive folk, and were generally content to accept other people's ideas. In Egypt they found a system of government ready-made, and they adopted the plan of their Roman predecessors—a plan doubtless moulded on time-honoured precedent—with little modification.¹ The system lasted in all essentials down to the present century, and developed into a completely decentralized series of inferior governments loosely related to the chief government at Fusṭāṭ. The village sheykhhs were subordinate to the district governors, who in turn reported to the governor-in-chief ; but the central government interfered little with the district officers, or these with the peasants (*fellūḥin*), so long as the taxes were paid ; and the whole machinery of government was directed to the end of collecting as large a revenue as possible. A special department, however, had charge of the irrigation, and appointed inspectors annually to see to the maintenance of the government dikes and dams ; but the local dikes were left to the management of each separate village or town, and paid for out of the local funds. The governor was appointed by the caliph ; and the governor usually appointed the three great officers of state, for war, justice, and finance—the marshal, the chief kāḍī, and the treasurer. The marshal had command of the guard, controlled the army and police, and maintained order. The kāḍī was the chief judge, he was also the controller of the mint (at least down to the 13th century), and represented religion and law ; the treasurer looked to the

¹ Mr. Milne (*Egypt under Roman Rule*, 216) has shown that the mudirs, or governors of provinces, corresponded to the epistrategoi ; the ma'mūr, or sub-provincial governor, performed the duties of the toparch, and partly of the strategos ; and the land-inspector, khūlī, was the ancient sitologos. The taxation, however, seems to have been much heavier under late Roman rule than under the Arabs.

collection of the taxes, and so important was his office that he was often appointed directly by the caliph, and held a position independent of the governor. It was his duty, after collecting the taxes and paying the expenses of government, to hand over the surplus to the supreme treasury of the caliph. Sometimes he farmed the revenues for a fixed payment to the caliph's treasury, and made what he could out of the taxes. Sometimes the governor combined the office of treasurer with his proper political functions. In any case, no doubt a considerable balance stuck in the pockets of the officials, and did not find its way to the caliph. The frequent changes of governors and the uncertainty of their tenure rendered some such economy almost inevitable, as is still the case in the Ottoman empire.

'Amr, from his new capital of Fustat, directed the raising of the necessary revenue. He collected one million dinars from the poll-tax alone in the first year, four million in the second, and eight in the third year (642, 643, and 644), a progression which shows that the country was not immediately brought under financial control. The total revenue he was able to raise amounted to 12,000,000 *D.*, on a population estimated by Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam at from six to eight millions, excluding women and children. The total was probably made up of about 3,000,000 land-tax on a million and a half of cultivated acres, 8,000,000 poll-tax on four million male adults, and 1,000,000 various duties and contributions.¹

¹ It is impossible to reconcile the various estimates of the Arab historians satisfactorily. 'Amr is stated to have raised eight million dinars from the poll-tax, which implies a taxable male population of four (not six or eight) millions. But Ya'kubi places the poll-tax of Egypt in about 670 at five million dinars, implying a population of two-and-a-half million adult males, or else a very large conversion of the Copts to Islam in order to evade the tax, which according to all authorities was not the case. The land-tax in the latter part of the 8th c. was forty-four million dirhems (or three-and-one-third million dinars), which tallies well enough with the fifty millions fixed by 'Amr in the treaty of 640. In the first half of the 9th c. the land-tax had increased to nearly four-and-three-quarter million *D.* El-Biladhuri says

The policy of the caliph enjoined a generous treatment of the cultivators of the soil, and we hear of harshness only where wealthy Copts endeavoured to conceal their resources and evade the taxes ; the consequence was confiscation, sometimes to a fabulous amount. 'Amr developed the productiveness of the land by irrigation, and the immemorial *corvée* system was enforced : 120,000 labourers were kept at work winter and summer in maintaining and improving the dams and canals. The old canal, traditionally called the Amnis Trajanus, connecting Babylon with the Red Sea, which had long been choked up, was cleared and reopened in less than a year,¹ and corn was sent by ships to Medina, instead of by caravan as in the previous year. In spite of this efficient and prudent administration, the caliph was dissatisfied with the small revenue received from Egypt,² and reduced 'Amr to the inferior office of governor of the delta, whilst the Sa'id, or Upper Egypt, was placed under the authority of 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd, who was soon afterwards (on the murder of the caliph 'Omar) appointed governor of all Egypt.

Before he left, however, 'Amr achieved another signal success. A Roman fleet of 300 sail, under Manuel, an Armenian, supported by the Roman population in the
645 delta, seized Alexandria in 645, and the Copts, dreading

that at the end of the 8th c. the total revenue was fixed at four dīnārs a head, but this looks like a mere combination of the two dīnār tax per head and the two dīnār tax per acre.

¹ In A.H. 23 (begining in Nov., 643) according to el-Kindi. It ran past Bilbeys to the Crocodile Lake and then down to Kulzum, the port at the head of the Red Sea. It remained open for about eighty years, after which it was neglected and again became choked up, until reopened in the caliphate of el-Mahdi, c. 780. The picturesque but malodorous canal (el-Khalīq) flowed through Cairo for some distance to the N.E. until 1899, when it was filled up for sanitary reasons. Its connection with the Crocodile Lake had long ceased, and its place was taken by the still older Busiris or "Freshwater Canal."

² The authentic correspondence on this subject between the caliph and 'Amr is preserved in Ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam, and shows that 'Omar regarded Egypt chiefly in the light of a milch-cow, whose milk was to nourish the faithful at Medina rather than fatten the governor at Fustāt.

a restoration of the hated Melekite domination, entreated that their old champion might be sent against the enemy. 'Amr hastened with an army by land and water towards Alexandria, and encountered the Romans near Nikiu. The imperial archers covered the landing of the troops from the river, and the Arabs suffered heavy loss. Amr's horse was shot under him, and some noted warriors began to fly. At this moment a Roman captain challenged the Muslims to single combat; a champion rode out from their ranks, and both armies stood under arms while the duel was fought out. After an hour's sword-play, the Arab killed his opponent with a knife. Encouraged by this, the Muslims attacked the enemy with such fury that they broke and fled to Alexandria with the loss of their general. The spot where the victory was won was commemorated by the building of the 'Mosque of (Divine) Pity.' The walls of Alexandria were then destroyed, as 'Anir said, "so that men could go in at every side as to the house of a harlot." As a reward for this service the successful general was offered the command of the troops of Egypt, but not the governorship: he declined the honour in the pithy phrase, "I might as well hold the cow by the horns whilst another milked her."

The new governor, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd,¹ bestirred himself to emulate the deeds of his predecessor. In 651-2 he invaded Nubia, laid siege to Dongola, battered down the Christian church with his stone slings, and compelled the blacks to sue for peace. The treaty then concluded has been preserved by Ibn-Selim, as quoted by Maqrīzī, and is a curious document:—

"In the name of God, &c.—This is a treaty granted by the emir 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abi-Sarḥ to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions, a treaty binding on great and small among them, from the

¹ The abbreviation *b.* stands for *ibn*, "son of." The classical form of this name is 'Abdu-l-lāhi-bnu-Sa'd, but in this history the inflexional terminations are disregarded, as they are in Egyptian colloquial usage.

frontier of Aswān to the frontier of 'Alwa. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims, their neighbours in the Sa'id [Upper Egypt], as well as all other Muslims and their tributaries. Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle, Mohammad the prophet, whom God bless and save. We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers not settlers. Yeshall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall give up the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islām ; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islām ; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim, but render him aid till he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirt of your city, and hinder none from praying there ; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360 head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims [i.e. the caliph], of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. Ye shall deliver them to the governor of Aswān. No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from 'Alwa to Aswān. If ye harbour a Muslim slave, or kill a Muslim or an ally, or attempt to destroy the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirt of your city, or withhold any of the 360 head of slaves—then this promised peace and security will be withdrawn from you, and we shall revert to hostility, until God decide between us, and He is the best of umpires. For our performance of these conditions we pledge our word, in the name of God, and our compact and faith, and belief in the name

of His apostle Mohammad, God bless and save him. And for your performance of the same ye pledge yourselves by all that ye hold most sacred in your religion, by the Messiah and by the apostles and by all whom ye revere in your creed and religion. And God is witness of these things between us and you. Written by 'Amr b. Shurahbil in Ramadân in the year 31." (May-June, 652 A.D.)

Before this treaty the *bakt*, or annual tribute of "360 head of slaves," had been paid to 'Amr b. el-'Âṣî, together with forty slaves whom he declined to accept as a present, but paid for in corn and provisions. This exchange continued for a long time. The *bakt* of 360 slaves was regularly paid every year to an Egyptian officer at el-Kâṣr, five miles from Aswân, the frontier town of Egypt, and forty slaves in addition were exchanged for wheat, barley, lentils, cloth, and horses. The treaty and the slave tribute remained in force down to Mamlûk times, more than six centuries later.

Three years after the Nubian campaign, a Roman fleet of 700 to 1000 sail appeared off Alexandria. The Muslims had only 200 ships to oppose the invasion, but after volleys of arrows, and, when these were exhausted, of stones, they came to close quarters and fought sword to sword, till the Romans were put to flight. From the forest of rigging the engagement acquired the name of "the Battle of the Masts." Henceforth, for centuries, in spite of occasional raids by the emperors' fleets, Egypt was secure from foreign attack. Meanwhile 'Abdallâh pressed the taxes, and succeeded in raising a revenue of 14,000,000 *D.* The caliph 'Othmân, at Medina, observed to 'Amr that "the camel yields more milk now." "Yes," was the reply, "but to the hurt of her young." The result, indeed, was widespread disaffection. The people rose, drove the vice-governor out of Fustât, proclaimed the deposition of the caliph, refused to admit 'Abdallâh when he returned from a journey to Palestine, and sent a force of rebels to Medina to demand the appointment of a governor of their own choice. An intercepted letter, which seemed to argue double-dealing on the caliph's

part, embittered the controversy, and the Egyptian Arabs at Medina took a leading share in the events which ended in the murder of 'Othmān. The contest over the ⁶⁵⁶ succession to the caliphate was fought out in Egypt, as elsewhere; 'Ali, the new caliph, was strongly supported, and sent a governor to Fustāt, who read his commission aloud in the mosque of 'Amr. He was removed by intrigues, and the next governor was poisoned before he even reached his seat of government. Ten thousand men, pledged to avenge the murder of 'Othmān, established themselves at Kharibtā, in the Hawf (or eastern part of the delta) and defied authority. With their support, and backed by 5000 Syrian troops, joined by as many Egyptians, 'Amr, the nominee of the rival ⁶⁵⁸ caliph Mo'āwiya, re-entered Fustāt in July, 658, after defeating the governor's army, and put an end to the authority of 'Ali in Egypt. The conqueror's second government lasted over five years, but was marked by few important events beyond a couple of expeditions against the Berbers of Libya. In view of his great services, Mo'āwiya, first of the Omayyad caliphs of Damascus, granted him the entire revenue of Egypt, after payment of the cost of administration; and so large was the surplus that when 'Amr died, in January, ⁶⁶⁴ at the age of ninety, he left seventy sacks of dinārs, each of which weighed ten bushels (two ardebbs.) At about 160 lbs. to the ardebb, this would amount to the wholly impossible amount of ten tons of gold! It is said (but, in the Arab historians' qualifying phrase, "God knows best") that his sons refused to inherit their ill-gotten treasure.

A record of the several reigns of the ninety-eight governors who ruled Egypt under the successive caliphs of Medina, Damascus and Baghdād, up to the time when Ibn-Tūlūn established a practically independent dynasty in 868, would serve little purpose.¹ The system was the same all through, but mildness and

¹ Their jejune annals may be read in F. Wüstenfeld's *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, published in the *Abhandl. der Kön. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Bd. xx., 1875.

severity alternated according to the disposition of the governor, or the character of his treasurer and other officials. Several governors are described as generous and upright, benevolent towards the people, and beloved by them. Such were commonly followed by martinets, who restored the treasury balance by fresh exactions. Honesty was not likely to be the salient virtue among men who were liable to sudden dismissal at the caprice of a caliph; yet it is recorded of Keys b. Sa'd that on his demission he refused to appropriate the house he had built at Fustat because "it was erected with the money of the Muslims" to be the official residence of future governors. Another exceptional ruler, a "God-fearing man, just and incorruptible," used to say, "When presents come in at the door, honesty flies out of the window." Yet it was



Fig. 2.—Glass weight
of Osāma b. Zeyd
[A.D. 720].

under this very man that Osāma b. Zeyd carried on a peculiarly oppressive policy, acting on the caliph's instructions, "Milk till the udder be dry, and let blood to the last drop." The normal taxation was not excessive; non-Muslims paid about a guinea a year in poll-tax, and the same amount per cultivated acre (*feddān*, rather more than an English acre) in land-tax.

The taxes brought in annually from twelve to fourteen million dinars; and in the first half of the 9th c. the land-tax (of two dinars per acre) amounted to 4,857,000 *D.*, or about 2,500,000*l.* But in Egypt the tax-gatherer did not always content himself with the legal taxes; and apart from such extortion, there were various other duties, on trades and markets, etc., increased and varied from time to time, which swelled the revenue. The Muslim subjects moreover had to pay a tithe as poor-tax, and also a property-tax. At the beginning of the 8th c. the district officials reported the extraordinary intelligence that their treasuries were so full that they could hold no more, and the caliph gave orders that the superfluity should be expended on building mosques. Among

others, the Mosque of 'Amr was restored, and it is mentioned that when the workmen turned out of an evening and went home, the governor, Kurra, had wine brought into the sacred building, and tippled all night to the strains of music—another way of disposing of the surplus. Some governors, however, rigorously suppressed all wine-shops and places of public amusement.

The vast majority of the people of Egypt were of course the Christian Copts, and whatever oppression existed was mainly borne by them. There is very little evidence, however, to show that they were grossly ill-treated. 'Amr, the conqueror, received an embassy of monks, who asked for a charter of their liberties and the restoration of their patriarch Benjamin; he granted the charter and invited the exiled patriarch to return. The Muslims naturally favoured their allies of the national or Jacobite church, rather than the orthodox church of Constantinople, which was still represented in Egypt. The governor Maslama allowed the Copts to build a church behind the bridge at Fustāt, to the scandal of the 686 faithful; and when 'Abd-el-'Aziz b. Marwān removed for his health to Ḥulwān, near Memphis, he chose the Coptic monastery at Tamweyh on the opposite bank of the Nile as his residence,¹ and paid the monks 20,000 *D.* for it. This is worth noting, because, according to the Muslim theory, Egypt was a conquered country and its inhabitants had no rights, could not own land, and were

¹ Here he is stated to have struck the first purely Arabic coins issued in Egypt in A.H. 76 (695), in accordance with the monetary reform of the caliph 'Abd-el-Melik. Abū-Sāliḥ says (f. 52b) that 'Abd-el-'Azīz b. Marwān wished to make Ḥulwān the capital, and built several mosques there, a pavilion of glass, a Nilometer, a lake and aqueduct, and planted trees. His physicians sent him there for the alleviation of his lion-sickness (elephantiasis), on account of the sulphur springs. He also built a palace with a gilt dome, "the Golden House," at Fustāt. Osāma b. Zeyd built the first Nilometer on the island of Rōda, formerly called G'ezirat-es-Şinā'a, "the island of the artisans" (boat-builders), in 716, which superseded the old Nilometer of Memphis, and was still in use in 944 (Mas'ūdi, ii. 366). Another Nilometer was erected at the upper end of Rōda in 861, and improved by Ibn-Tūlūn in 873; it registered [eighteen cubits' rise, each cubit divided into twenty-four inches (Egyptian).

liable (and too often subjected) to confiscation. On the other hand, his nephew and successor, 'Abdallāh, bore heavily upon the people, forbade Christians to wear the burnus, and ordered Arabic to be used in all public documents, instead of Coptic as heretofore. Exactions, arbitrary fines, torture and vexatious passports are recorded, and a system of badges to be worn by monks, by way of licence, was devised: if a monk were found without the brand, his monastery was liable to be sacked.

A still worse oppressor was the treasurer 'Obeyd-allāh b. el-Habḥāb, who in 722, by the caliph's order, carried out a general destruction of the sacred pictures of the Christians. Such persecutions led to a rising of the Copts in the Hawf, between Bilbeys and Damietta, which, although suppressed for the time, broke out again and again in later years, and the imprisonment of a Coptic patriarch aroused

⁷²²

Fig. 3.—Glass stamp¹ of 'Obeyd-

allāh b. el-Habḥāb, dated 729.

such indignation among his co-religionists in Nubia that the king (Cyriacus) marched into Egypt at the head of 100,000 Nubians, and was only induced to return to his own country by the request of the patriarch, who was hastily liberated.

The Muslim historian Maqrizi does not attempt to minimize these persecutions, and himself repeats a story of the heroism of one of the religious women who were

¹ These stamps were impressed on glass bottles by the government as guarantees of standard capacity. The glass weights were used to test the weight of the coins. The inscriptions on both usually include the name of the ruling governor or treasurer, the measure or weight indicated, a word or formula referring to the justness of the weight or measure, and occasionally the date.



dragged out of their convents by the Arab soldiers. Febronia was a virgin of such surpassing beauty that her captors could not decide who was to own her. Whilst they were consulting she offered to reveal to their leader the secret of an unguent with which her ancestors used to anoint themselves, and thereby became invulnerable. The captain of the troop agreed to let her go back to her convent if she let him prove the efficacy of the ointment upon herself. "So he went with her into the convent, and prayed before it, and begged the Virgin to assist her to obtain deliverance." Then she anointed her neck with the oil, and one of the soldiers drew a sharp sword. "And the maiden bent her knees and displayed her neck; but they did not know that which was in her heart. Then she covered her face and said, 'If there is any strong man among you, let him strike with his sword upon my neck, and you will see the power of God in this great secret.' So the man . . . struck with all his might; and her head immediately fell from her body; for it was her purpose by this means to preserve her maidenhood, that she might appear before Christ a pure virgin, as she had been created, without earthly stain. So when the ignorant Bashmurites saw what had befallen the maiden, they knew at last what had been her intention; and they repented and were exceeding sad, and did no injury henceforth to any of those virgins, but let them go."¹

It is remarkable that in spite of such intermittent oppression and their invariable position of inferiority, and also the temptation to escape the poll-tax and all disabilities by the simple process of conversion to Islām, the Copts in general remained steadfast to their faith (they still numbered five millions about 725)²; insomuch that about 732 the treasurer 'Obeydallāh, finding that Islām was making no progress among them, imported 5000 Arabs of the tribe of Keys and settled them in the Hawf

¹ Abū-Salih, f. 84-86. The story comes from John the Deacon.

² El-Kindi in Abū-Salih, f. 260.

to the north-east of Fustāt, where they presently formed a hot-bed of revolt. The Arab population, however, apart from this small addition, must have been considerable, though for the first century of Mohammadan rule they were almost confined to the large cities. Most governors appear to have come to Egypt escorted by an Arab army, estimated at different times at 6000, or 10,000, or even 20,000 men; and many of these soldiers

most probably settled in the towns, and some certainly intermarried with Copt women. These Arabs were no doubt favoured by government at the expense of the Christians; and at one time we read that 25,000 *D.* were distributed among the Muslims to pay their debts. Arab tribes from time to time migrated bodily into Egypt. Thus the tribe of el-Kenz (a branch of Rabi'a) settled chiefly

in the Sa'id in the middle of the ninth century, intermarried with the people, and became an important political factor in later insurrections in the time of the Fātimids and of Saladin.

The governors of Egypt under the Omayyad caliphs were all Arabs, and four of them were sons or brothers

of the reigning caliphs. Two of the Omayyad caliphs themselves visited Egypt: Marwān I. in 684, to defeat the party supporting the rival caliph 'Abdallāh b. Zūbeyr; and Mar-



Fig. 4.—Glass weight of el-Kāsim b. 'Obeyd-allāh [730].



Fig. 5.—Glass weight of 'Abd-el-Melik b. Yezid [750].

wān II., who came there in his flight from his victorious

supplanters, the 'Abbāsids, crossed at Gīza to Fustāt, and sent troops to hold the Sa'id and Alexandria; but was pursued to the death by the 'Abbāsid general, Salih b. 'Ali, who took possession of Fustāt for the new dynasty in August, 750. The partisans of the late caliph were driven out of the country, or killed at sight.

⁷⁵⁰ The change from the Omayyad to the 'Abbāsid caliphs was thus effected in Egypt with little difficulty: indeed some governors who had served the old line were quite willing to accept office under the new, and other leading men of the old régime were taken to the caliph's court to become acclimatized. Their tenure of power, however, was even more precarious, and an 'Abbāsid governor generally ruled only half the brief time that an Omayyad governor had kept his seat.¹ Under the new dynasty a considerable number of the governors belonged to the 'Abbāsid family, and of the others most were Arabs; but in 826 the caliphs began to send Turks, and since then, with the exception of the Fatimid caliphs, hardly any Arabs have ever ruled in Egypt. From 834 to the independent rule of Ibn-Tūlūn in 872, the province was given in fief to one or other of the commanders of the caliphs' Turkish bodyguard, or to the caliph's son or brother; these fiefes did not govern in person but appointed a deputy governor to do the work and pay them the surplus revenue.²

The change of dynasty was marked by a change of residence. The Omayyad governors had generally lived at Fustāt, though two had temporarily removed the seat of government to Alexandria, leaving a deputy at Fustāt. The 'Abbāsid governors built a new official capital (a military suburb rather than a city) at a place called el-Hanrā el-Kuṣwā ("the further red way") on the plain to the north-east of Fustāt, where the soldiers of some of the

¹ Under the Omayyads there were thirty-one changes of governors in 229 years; under the 'Abbāsids sixteen in 125 years.

² These fiefs were Adana, 826—842; Idris, 842—860; el-Mantaṣir, 860—868; al-Faqīh, 868—888; Rāfiq, 888; Raṣūq, 888—892; el-Kāshif, 892.

Arab tribes had formerly built houses of defence; whence the place was known as el-'Askar, "the army." Ṣalih, the 'Abbāsid general, camped there in 750; his lieutenant, Abū-'Awn, built houses there; and el-'Askar became the official residence of the governor, his guard, and ministers.¹ Suburbs connected it with Fustāt, from which the Nile had already (by 725) retreated some little distance westward. Another palace, called the Kubbat-el-Hawā ("Domie of the Air"), was built in 809-810 by the governor Hātim on the spur of the Muqattam hills, where the Citadel of Cairo now stands, and here the governors often resorted for the cool breezes.

The period of the government of Egypt under the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdād was distracted by frequent insurrections. These were due less to the Copts (who joined in, rather than caused rebellion) than to the Muslims themselves. There were already serious schisms in Islām. Not to speak of the slight differences of the four orthodox schools of theology—of which the Mālikī, or school founded on the teaching of the great divine Mālik, was most widely followed in Egypt from the eighth to the tenth century, though after the coming of the Imām esh-Shāfi'i to Fustāt, at the beginning of the ninth century, the Shāfi'is began gradually to acquire the predominance which they still enjoy in Egypt—the bitter enmity between the Shi'a and the Sunnis, between the upholders of the divine right of 'Ali's family to the caliphate and the defenders of the caliphate actually in power, already divided the Muslims. The supporters of the claim of 'Ali's descendants to the caliphate, and the Khārigīs (or "revolters"), a sect of puritans who had a large share in the downfall of 'Ali himself, were strongly represented in Egypt, and the Arab tribes who had been imported into the Hawf were continually in a state of rebellion. In 754 Abū-'Awn, Ṣalih's general, who had been campaigning against the Berbers in Barka, was

¹ Maqr. i. 304. El-'Askar decayed after Ṣalih's departure, but was restored and enlarged by Mūsā b. 'Isā el-'Abbāsi forty years later. Cf. Lane, *Cairo fifty years ago*, 7 ff.

obliged to return to put down a great rising of the Khārigis in Egypt, and the result was the despatch of 3000 rebels' heads to Fustāt. In 759 there was another campaign in Bar-



Fig. 6.—Glass weight of Yezid b. Hātim [761]. common cause with the Berbers and the

supporters of the late Omayyad dynasty, and the Egyptian army was defeated. The next governor, Humeyd, who brought 20,000 men with him, and was shortly further reinforced, carried on the war, and after some reverses succeeded in beating the rebels and killing the Khārigi leader. The 'Alawis or 'Alids, adherents of 'Ali's faction, next came on the scene, and one of the family ('Ali b. Mohammad b. 'Abdallāh) was near becoming caliph in Egypt, till the 'Abbāsid caliph el-Mansūr, after catching and killing another rebel of the family at Basra, adopted the deterring expedient of sending the victim's head to be exposed in the mosque at Fustāt, which so daunted the 'Alids that the movement collapsed. So serious was the ferment, however, that Yezid b. Hātim, the governor, forbade the annual pilgrimage to Mekka in 764. In the following year he had to suppress a Khārigi insurrection in Abyssinia, and as a reward for his services the province of Barqa was in 766 for the first time joined to his government of Egypt.

⁷⁶⁵ It was now the turn of the Copts. They had already twice risen at Semennūd in the delta, and in 767 they rebelled at Sakhā, twice defeated the governor's troops, and drove out the tax-gatherers. A considerable district of Lower Egypt was in open insurrection, and was not restored to order until several years later. The result was naturally more stringent suppression and persecution. Tranquillity was restored for a while under the gentle rule of Müsa b. 'Olayy, who treated the people with

benevolence, and delighted in discoursing in the mosque and reciting the prayers, for he was a noted divine. A violent alternative was supplied in 779 by Abū Sālih,⁷⁷⁹

known as Ibn-Memdūd, the first governor who came of Turkish race, a most capable and energetic ruler, but stern and severe.



Fig. 7.—Glass weight of Mohammad b. Sa'id [769].

He found the roads infested by robbers of the Keys Arabs of the Hawf, and immediately put a stop to their exploits by summary executions. It was his theory that under his sway thieving could not exist, and he therefore issued orders that all gates and house-doors, and even taverns, should be left open at night. People used to stretch nets before their open doors to keep the dogs out. He interdicted the employment of watchmen at the public baths, and announced that if anything were stolen he would replace it out of his own pocket. When any one went to the bath, he would lay down his garments in the dressing-room and call out, "O Abū-Sālih, take care of my clothes!" and would then go and bathe in perfect confidence that when he came out no one would have dared to touch them. But Ibn-Memdūd's severity caused more fear than it allayed, and his ridiculous sumptuary laws, prescribing special head-dresses for judges and other officials, and his constant interference, so harassed the people that his dismissal was universally applauded.

A grave political rebellion occurred in 782 in the Sa'id,⁷⁸² where Dihya b. Mus'ab, the Omayyad, proclaimed himself caliph. Most of Upper Egypt joined his faction, and the government troops were repulsed. A new governor was sent out, who first mulcted his unsuccessful predecessor in the sum of 350,000 *D.* for his failure to suppress the revolt, and then adopted the strange method of ingratiating

his rule with the people by doubling the land-tax, and imposing fresh duties on markets and beasts of burthen. Mūsā thus made himself so generally detested that even his own soldiers deserted. The Arab tribes in the Hawf seized the opportunity to take up arms again, and the governor was defeated and killed. His successor

was not more fortunate. He failed to reduce the rebels in the Sa'id, but the campaign was memorable for a curious incident. The governor's brother chal-



Fig 8.—Glass weight of el-Fadl b. Salih [785].

lenged the rebel general to single combat, each ran the other through, both died, and the two armies fled from each other in panic. It was not till el-Fadl, the son of Salih, the 'Abbāsid conqueror of Egypt, took the matter in hand, that this wide-spread rebellion was put down. El-Fadl tried no half-measures, but brought a loyal army from Syria, which gained a series of victories in the Sa'id, and captured the pretender. Dihya was executed at Fustat, his body crucified, and his head sent to the caliph at Baghdad.

Unfortunately el-Fadl grew so puffed up by his triumph that he had to be removed, and his nephew, who succeeded, though a just man and benevolent (save towards the Copts, whose churches he demolished), following in his ambitious steps received a similar recall from Hārūn er-Rashid. Both these men were members of the 'Abbāsid family, and were consequently disposed to cherish dreams of election to the caliphate, which was not so entailed that er-Rashid could afford to despise them. The same ambition was discovered in the next ⁷⁹ governor, Mūsā b. 'Isā the 'Abbāsid, a man of great official experience, and well disposed towards the Copts, whom he allowed to rebuild their ruined churches.

When it was reported that he was harbouring designs against the caliph, Hārūn exclaimed, with his usual levity, "By Allāh, I will depose him, and in his place I will set the meanest creature of my court." Just then 'Omar, the secretary of the caliph's mother, came riding on his mule. "Will you be governor of Egypt?" asked G'a'far the Barmecide. "Oh, yes," said 'Omar. No sooner said than done; 'Omar rode his mule to Fustāt, followed by a single slave carrying his baggage. Entering the governor's house, he took his seat in the back row of the assembled court. Mūsā, not knowing him, asked his business, whereat 'Omar presented him with the caliph's despatch. On reading it Mūsā exclaimed, in Korānic phrase, "God curse Pharaoh, who said 'Am I not king of Egypt?'" and forthwith delivered up the government to "the meanest creature." The story is too like one of Hārūn's practical jokes to be quite disbelieved, and it is at least certain that Mūsā retired in 792.

During these changes of government, the Arabs of the Hawf pursued their career of insubordination. In 802 and 806 there was severe fighting; the nomads refused to pay taxes, plundered travellers, lifted cattle, and made raids into Palestine, with the support of the frontier Arabs. A treacherous decoy of some of their chiefs in 807 checked them for the moment, but the contest for the caliphate, which arose on Hārūn's death in 808, between his sons, el-Amin and el-Ma'mūn, divided the allegiance of the Egyptians, and led to fresh outbreaks in the Hawf. The two claimants appointed rival governors, and el-Amin shrewdly nominated the chief of the Keys Arabs to the office, thus securing the support of the party most disaffected to the government. El-Ma'mūn's representative was accordingly defeated and killed.

To this official recognition the Arabs of the Hawf now added a new source of strength by the arrival in Alexandria in 798 of over 15,000 Andalusians, besides women and children. These refugees had been banished from Spain by the Omayyad prince el-Hakam, in consequence of a rebellion at Cordova, which had gone near to over-

throwing his monarchy.¹ They were allowed to land, but not to enter Alexandria, and they supported themselves as best they could by sea commerce. They soon became a factor in the political situation, and having leagued themselves with the powerful Arab tribe of Lakhim, seized Alexandria in 815. Here they fought and treated alternately with the government and with malcontents of the Hawf, until at last the task of suppressing the obnoxious colony was placed in the hands of a strong man. The caliph el-Marmūn sent 'Abdallāh the son of Tāhir, one of the most famous generals of the age, to Egypt in 826, with an army officered by trusty veterans from Khurasān. A siege of fourteen days brought Alexandria to terms, in 827, and the Andalusians agreed to embark on their ships, taking every soul belonging to them, free and slave, woman and child, on pain of death. They sailed away to Crete, where they settled and ruled till the eastern emperor recovered the island in 861.

³¹⁵ Ibn-Tāhir had undertaken a difficult task. Before exiling the Andalusians he had fought the governor, 'Obeydallāh b. es-Sari, who refused to accept his dismissal until Ibn-Tāhir had starved him out of Fustāt. As a last hope, he sent his besieger in the dead of night an offering of a thousand slaves and slave-girls, each carrying a thousand dinārs in a silk purse; but Ibn-Tāhir sent them back, saying "I would not accept your gifts by day, still less by night." After the surrender of Fustāt, and the expulsion of the Andalusians from Alexandria, the successful general, whom the caliph had prophetically named "Victorious" (el-Mansūr), restored order throughout the country, reorganized the army, and made Egypt loyal once more. In return for his great services, the caliph allowed him to enjoy the full revenue of Egypt, amounting to 3,000,000 *D.*² He is described as a just and

¹ Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 68-76; Quatremère, *Mém. sur l'Egypte*, i.

² 3,000,000 *D.* cannot be the gross revenue, but it might be the amount derived from the land-tax. But as it appears that the land-tax about this time reached the sum of 4,857,000 *D.*, it is more probable

humane governor, a man of learning, and a staunch friend to poets, of whom several were always in his train. His name has been preserved in the 'Abdallāwi melons of Egypt, a variety which he specially introduced.

The brief rest which the land enjoyed under his strong and judicious rule was broken upon his departure for his own province of Khurāsān, in the north-east of Persia. The Arabs of the Ḥawf speedily renewed their

outrages, and advancing close to the capital, at Maṭariya, defeated the new governor, who burned his baggage and took refuge behind the walls of Fustāt. When el-Mo'tasim, brother of the caliph, and afterwards caliph himself,



Fig 9.—Dinār (gold coin) of caliph el-Ma'mūn, struck at Miṣr (Fustāt), 814.

came to the rescue with 4000 Turkish troops, he found the city blockaded by the Arabs; and though he dispersed them (829) and killed their chiefs, as soon as he had returned to Baghdād, five months later (driving a crowd of wretched barefoot prisoners before his savage troopers), the insurrection broke out afresh, and spread among the Copts; and at last the caliph resolved to go to Egypt in person.

It was the first time that an 'Abbāsid caliph had visited the Nile, the praises of which poets had constantly been dinging in his ears; and when el-Ma'mūn surveyed the view from the "Dome of the Air," he was frankly disappointed. "God curse Pharaoh," he cried, "for saying, 'Am I not king of Egypt !'¹ If only he had seen 'Irāk and its meadows!" "Say not so," replied a divine, "for it is also written, 'We have brought to nought what Pharaoh and his folk reared and built so skilfully';² and what must have been those things which God

that the 3,000,000 *D.* represents the excess of revenue over the cost of administration—the surplus (after paying the army, officials, etc.) which would in the ordinary course have been sent to the caliph.

¹ Korān, xliv. 50.

² *Ibid.* vii. 133.

destroyed, if these are but their remnants!" The caliph then disgraced the ineffective governor, beheaded a leader of the revolt, and sent an army under the Turk Afshin into the Hawf, where the rebellious Copts were massacred in cold blood, their villages burnt, and their wives and children sold as slaves. This stern repression broke the spirit of the Copts, and we hear no more of national movements. Many of them apostatized to Islām, and from this date begins the numerical preponderance of the Muslims over the Christians in Egypt, and the settlement of the Arabs in the villages and on the land, instead of as heretofore only in the great cities. Egypt now became, for the first time, an essentially Mohammanadan country.

Meanwhile, the caliph had visited Alexandria and Sakhā; there is also a legend, resting on no early authority, that he attempted to open the great pyramid of G'iza in search of treasure, but gave it up on finding that his workmen could make no perceptible impression

on the vast mass.¹ After over a month's stay, el-Ma'mūn returned to Baghdād. He left the country in a state of peace, which, save for a brief outbreak among the Lakhmi Arabs of the delta, was not disturbed for many years. Whatever dissensions arose were caused by theological differences among the Muslims themselves. El-Ma'mūn's enforcement of the doctrine of the createdness of the Korān, as a test without which no kādi or judge could be enrolled, produced more heart-burning than the subject seems to merit. A chief kādi, who would not conform to the established doctrine, was shorn of his beard, whipped, and driven through the city on an ass. His

Fig 10.—Glass weight of Ashnās [834 ff.]



¹ Cf. 'Abd-el-Laṭīf, 176, and de Sacy's note, 219; Wüstenfeld, *Staatsalter*, 43 n.

successor continued to scourge him at the rate of twenty cuts a day, till he extorted the desired *bakhshish*. Followers of the (orthodox) sects of the Hanafis and Shāfi'is were driven out of the mosque. A suspicious slip in reading the Korân brought a flogging.

A similar system of petty interference vexed the Copts a little later. A series of new regulations of the caliph el-Mutawekkil was promulgated throughout the provinces of Egypt in 850. The Christians were ordered to wear honey-coloured clothes, with distinguishing patches, use wooden stirrups, and set up wooden images of the devil or an ape or dog over their doors; the girdle, the symbol of femininity, was forbidden to women, and ordered to be worn by men; crosses must not be shown nor processional lights carried in the streets, and their graves must be indistinguishable from the earth around. They were also forbidden to ride horses. Such childish persecution could only be designed to furnish occasion for disobedience, and thus for fines and extortion.

The independent spirit of the *kâdî*, who was whipped for non-compliance with superior orders, was typical of his class and office. In a period of grasping governors and extortionate treasurers, when corruption and injustice prevailed throughout the administration, the chief *kâdî*, or lord chancellor and primate of Egypt, could almost always be trusted to maintain the sacred law, despite threats and bribes. The law may have been narrow, and the *kâdî* a bigot, but he was at least a man of some education, trained in Mohammadan jurisprudence, and generally of high character and personal rectitude. So important was his office and so great his influence that when other ministers were changed with the rapid succession of governors, the *kâdî* frequently remained in office for a series of administrations, and even when deposed he would often be restored by a later governor or caliph. Sooner than submit to any interference with his legal judgments, he would resign his post, and so beloved were many of the *kâdis* that a governor would think twice before he risked the unpopularity which

would follow any meddling with their jurisdiction. Indeed in 'Abbāsid times he had scarcely the power to dismiss them, for from the time of Ibn-Lahi'a, who was appointed ḫāḍī by the caliph el-Maṇṣūr in 771-2, the nomination to the office seems generally to have been made at Baghdaḍ, and the salary fixed, if not paid, by the caliph. The salary of Ibn-Lahi'a was 30 dinārs a month, but in 827 'Isā b. el-Muṇkādir received monthly 4000 dirhems (or 300 *D.*), and a fee of 1000 *D.* Ḫāḍī Ghauth (†785) was a model of uprightness, and accessible to any petition; every new moon he attended public sittings with the lawyers. His successor, el-Muṭaffid, also bore a very high character, and he was the first to insist on the necessary reform of keeping full records of causes. It was a laborious office, demanding besides juridical sessions the regulation of the religious festivals, keeping the calendar, often preaching in the mosque, and other duties, so that we read of several men refusing a post which taxed their energy and probity so severely. Abū-Khuzeyma accepted it only after the governor had sent for the [executioner's] axe and block. This ḫāḍī had been a rope-maker, and one day when on the bench he was asked by an old acquaintance for a halter, whereupon the good man fetched one from his house, and then went on with the case before the court. The combination of extreme simplicity and benevolence with a firm and dignified maintenance of the law of Islām procured him vast popularity.

^{85*} The last Arab governor of Egypt, 'Anbasa, was the best of them all—a strong, just man who held a tight hand over his officials, and showed his subjects such goodwill as they had not known before. Unostentatious, he always went on foot from the government house at el-'Askar to the mosque; strict in his religious duties, he never failed to observe the fast of Ramaḍān in all its rigour. He was not only the last governor of Arab blood; he was also the last to take his place in the mosque as leader of the prayers, which was the duty of governors in the absence of the caliph, the supreme head of religion. 'Anbasa's tenure of office was memorable

for two invasions of Egypt from opposite ends. In May, 853, whilst the governor was celebrating the Feast of Sacrifice (10th Dhū-l-Hijjā) at Fustāt, for the due observance of which he had ordered up most of the troops in garrison from Damietta and Tinnis, and even from Alexandria, to take part in a grand review, the news arrived that the Romans were raiding the coast. They found Damietta deserted, and burned it, making prisoners of 600 women and children. By the time 'Anbasa reached the city they were off by sea to Tinnis, and when he pursued, they had sailed home. As a precaution against similar surprises a fort was built to guard the approach to Damietta—as the Crusaders long afterwards discovered to their cost—and Tinnis was similarly strengthened.

The other attack came from the Sūdān. In 854 the Bagā people of Nubia and the eastern desert repudiated the annual tribute, consisting of four hundred male and female slaves, a number of camels, two elephants, and two giraffes, which they had been compelled to send to Egypt ever since the campaign of 652. This was a formidable affair, and 'Anbasa wrote to the caliph at Baghdād for instructions. In spite of the alarming accounts given him by several travellers as to the wildness of the country and the ferocity of the Bagās, the caliph el-Mutawakkil decided to bring them to order. Great preparations were made in Egypt; quantities of stores, weapons, horses and camels were collected, and troops assembled, at Kuft, Esnē, Erment, Aswān, on the Nile, and Kuseyr on the Red Sea. Seven ships laden with stores sailed from Kulzum to Ṣanga near 'Aydhāb, at that time the chief port on the African coast of the Red Sea. The marshal, Mohammad of Kumm, marched from Kūṣ with 7000 soldiers, crossed the desert to the emerald mines, and even approached Dongola. The news of his advance spread over the Sūdān, and 'Ali Rābā, its king, collected

a vast army to resist him. Fortunately for the Muslims these Sūdānis, instead of wearing mail, were completely naked, and armed only with short spears, whilst their camels were ill-trained and unmanageable, as is the manner of their kind. When they saw the weapons and horses of the Arabs, they understood that they would have no chance against them in a set battle; but by manoeuvring and skirmishing from place to place they hoped to wear out the enemy and exhaust their provisions. In this they had nearly succeeded, when the seven ships from Kulzum appeared off the coast. To cut off the Arabs from their supplies, the Sūdānis were forced to attack at all costs. The Arab general, however, had hung camel-bells on the necks of his horses, and let the blacks come up till they were almost at spear length; then, with a great shout of "Allāhu Akbar," he ordered a general charge, amid a deafening din of bells and drums, which so terrified the enemy's camels that they threw their riders and turned tail in a stampede. The plain was strewn with corpses, and 'Ali Bābā, who escaped, was glad to make peace and pay the arrears of tribute. The Muslim leader received him honourably, seated him on his own carpet, made him handsome presents, and induced him not only to pay a visit to Fustāt, but even to go and see the caliph at Baghdād. To the credit of the Muslims he was allowed to return in safety to his own people.¹

After four years of good government and valiant service, 'Anbasa was recalled, and a series of Turkish governors misruled the country. Disliking the Arabs with the hatred of race, and supported by a decree of the caliph el-Musta'in, they favoured the Copts, restored many of their confiscated lands and possessions, and permitted the rebuilding of their churches. To the Arabs they were intolerable, and the Muslims were the victims of their eccentricities. One of them, Yezid, entertained a strong aversion to eunuchs, and had them flogged out of the town; he also disliked the weird sound

¹ Ibn-Miskaweyh, ed. de Goeje, 550 ff.

of the women's wailing at funerals, and objected to horse-racing. In his government the second Nilometer at Röda was founded, and the charge of measuring the rise of the Nile was taken away from the Copts, who had always fulfilled it. He possessed an evil genius in his finance minister, Ibn-Mudebbir, who invented new taxes, and besides the *kharāq'* (land-tax) and *hilātī* (monthly duties on shops and trades, etc.), established government monopolies in the natron mines and the fisheries, and imposed taxes on fodder and on wine-shops. The usual disturbances followed; first a rising at Alexandria, then in the Hawf, scarcely put down before another occurred at G'iza, and a fourth in the Fayyūm. The whole country fell into disorder, much bloodshed ensued, many were cast into prison, and the people were cruelly and fantastically oppressed. Women were straitly ordered to keep to their houses; they could not even visit the graves or go to the bath. Public performers and the professional keening women were imprisoned. No one might even say "In God's name" aloud in the mosque —a test point in orthodoxy—or deviate an inch from the orderly rows of the worshippers: a Turk stood by with a whip to marshal the congregation and keep the ranks, like a sergeant. A number of frivolous rules and changes in rites and customs exasperated the people. At last a Turk came who knew how to govern: His name was *Ahmad ibn Tūlūn*, and he and his dynasty demand a separate chapter.

The following tables give the lists of the caliphs and governors, together with the heads of the departments of war (marshal), finance (treasurer), and justice (chief kādī). The list of ministers is doubtless incomplete; but a good many of the gaps are explained by the fact that a governor was often his own finance minister, and sometimes marshal as well. The genealogical complication of the names is necessary for identification, and the tribal names (as el-Bageli, el-Kelbi, el-Azdi) are interesting as showing their origin. It will be noticed that there was evidently a species of official class; for the same names, or the same families, often recur, and the man who was

marshal might become in turn *kādi* or governor. Some of the governors' and treasurers' names occur on coins, and on the glass weights and stamps impressed on measures of capacity, which are apparently peculiar to Egypt, and of which many examples have been published from the British Museum, the Khedivial Library, and Dr. Fouquet's fine collection at Cairo.

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

I. UNDER EARLY CALIPHS

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCER	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
632 Abū-Bekr	640 'Amr b. el-'Aṣī	Khāriqā b. Iu-dhayfa		'Othmān b. Keys	
634 'Omar		Es-Sāib b. Hishām			
	644 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd	"	Suleym b. 'Ir	'Oklā b. 'Amr	
	656 Keys b. Sa'd	"	el-Tuglī	"	el-G'ul (ni)
656 'Alī	657-8 Muḥammad b. Abī-Bekr	"			
	[Mālik b. el-Ijārah el-Ashtar]				

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCER	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
658 'Amr b. el-'Aṣī ^{bif}				Suleym b. 'Ir	Khāriqā b. Iu-dhayfa
	664 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr				
	664 'Uthmān b. Abī-Suf.				
661 Moāwiya	Jān ¹				

¹ Brother of the caliph Moāwiya. Tahari makes 'Abdallāh succeed his father 'Amr in 664 and govern Egypt till 667 (A.II. 47), when he was replaced by

Moāwiya b. Iudeyf (47-50), who was followed by Maslama in 670 (50, ^{tab.} ii. 93, 94) : thus ignoring 'Otha and 'Okba ; Biālhuri and Alī-i-Malā'iin adopt

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
661 Mo'âwiya	665 'Okba b. 'Âmir el-G'uhenî				
	667 Maslama b. Mu-khalad	Es-Sâib b. Ilîshâm	Es-Sâib b.	Hishâm	
680 Yezid [Abdallâh b. Zubeyr]	682 Sa'id b. Yezid el-Adî	'Abîs		'Abîs	
683 Marwân	684 'Abd-er-Rahmân b. 'Obâ b. Gâfi-dam et-Kurashî	"		"	
685 'Abd-el-'Azîz b. Marwân ¹	685 'Amr b. Sa'id			Bashir b. en-Nadr	
685 'Abd-el-Melik				'Abd-er-Rahmân b. Ilyeyra	
				el-Khawâjî	
					Mâlik b. Sharîhil
					Yûmus b. 'Atîya
					'Abd-er-Rahmân b. Mâwiya
705 'Abdallâh b. 'Abd-el-Melik ²	Imrân b. 'Abd-er-Rahmân b. Shurâbil			Iudeyîs	
				'Imrân b.	'Alî-er-Rahmân b.
					'Amr b.

this version. Tabari, however, is singularly defective in his scanty notices of Egyptian governors, and the same remark applies to his follower, Ibn-el-Athîr.

¹ Brother of the caliph 'Abd-el-Melik.
² Son of the caliph.

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

47

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
705 El-Welid				'Abd-el-'Alā Khālid 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd. er-Kahnān b. Ilugeyra	b.
	709 Kūrra b. Sharīk el-'Alṣī	'Abd - el - 'Alā b. Khālid			
	714 'Abd-el-Melik b. Rifā'a	El-Welid b. Rifā'a Rifā'a el-Fehmī	Oṣāma b. Zeyd	'Iyādh b. Abdallāh Ibn-Ilugeyra (again)	
715 Suleymān					
717 'Omar b. 'Abd-el-Aziz	717 Ayyūb b. Shurah- bil el-Ashāḥī	El-Ḥasan b. Yezid el-Ḥaṣrī	Ilayyān b. Shu- reyḥ		
720 Yezid II.	720 Bishr b. Ṣafwān el-Kellī	Shu'eyb b. el-Ḥaṣrī	"		
	721 Iḥādhāla b. Ṣaf- wān el-Fehmī		"	'Oleydallāh el-Ḥabbāl	
724 Hishām	724 Muhammād b. 'Abd-el-Melik b. Marwān	Iḥāṣ b. el-Welid	"	Yahyā b. Meymūn 'Okba b. Mas- lama	"

¹ A glass stamp (for a measure of capacity) in the Fouquet Coll., with this governor's name, is published by Casanova in *Ném. de la Miss. archéol. du Caire*, vi, p. 367.

² Glass weights of Osāma are in the British Museum (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the B.M.*, No. 2) and Fouquet Coll. Osāma b. Zaid is mentioned as governing Egypt in A.H. 102 (720-1) by Ibn-el-

Athīr, v. 77; but other historians do not give his name in that year.

³ Glass weights of this treasurer are in B.M. and Fouquet.

⁴ Several glass weights and stamps of this treasurer in B.M. and Fouquet; one dated A.H. 111 = 729-30 (Catal. B.M., p. 108).

APPENDICES

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

¹ Major: Present date & 1940 birth place all known and known in 1940. Lines 41 and 50 past 1940 date unknown. Lines 11-17 and 74-81 past 1940 date unknown. Lines 1-10 and 18-20 past 1940 date unknown.

Major: Present date & 1940 birth place all known and known in 1940. Lines 41 and 50 past 1940 date unknown. Lines 1-10 and 18-20 past 1940 date unknown.

II. UNDER OMAYYAD CALIPHIS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
744 Yezid III.					
744 Ibrâhîm					
744 Marwân II.	745 Hassân b. 'Atâhiya et-Tûgîlî	745 Hassân b. 'Atâhiya	1. 'Isâ b. Abî 'Atâ	Khey'r b. Nûeym	
	745 Ha's b. el-Welid <i>ter</i>	"	"	"	
	745 El-Hawthara b. Suhey'l bâhiî	"	"	"	
	749 El-Mughîra b. 'Obeydallâh el- Fazârî	'Abdalلâh b. cl. Mughîra	"	"	
		'Abdalلâh b. Abî- er-Rahmân b. Hudey'yî	'Abd-el-Mellîk b. Marwân	"	
		Marwân b. Marwân	"		
750 ² 'Abd-el-Mellîk b. Marwân ¹ el- Lakhmî					'Ikrima b. Abdallâh

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B.M. Catalogue, and Casanova, *Collection Fouquer*).
 a. Besides glass weights and stamps of "Al-Mālik
 b. Marwān, there are coins bearing his name in the B.M.

at Cairo; some bearing the mint names Amr and El-Fustat on opposite sides, and one Misr and El-Iskandariya (?) (Alexandria). Lane-Poole, *Cat. Ar. Coins in Al-Khedîr*, Coll. pp. 114-115.

759	Abd-al-Rahmān b. Aslāt el-Fikr za'l	Muhammad b. Mo'awiyā	"	Ghawth Abū-Khuzeyma	'Abdalrahmān b. Abd-el-Rah- mān b. Iudeyf
760	Humeyd b. Kāfi ṭaba et-Ṭā'i	"	"	"	"
762	¹ Yezid b. Hāim el- Muhallebi	'Abdalrahmān b. Hudeyf	"	"	"

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B.M. Catalogue, and Casanova, *Collection Finguer*).

² Yezid b. Ilāni was marshal at el-'Askar; 'Ikrima at el-Fusṭāṭ.

III. UNDER 'ABBASID CALIPHIS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
754 El-Mansūr	769 'Abdal-lāh b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mō'āwiya b. Ijudeyğ	El-'Abbās b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Abī-Salihā b. Ḥassān	Abū Khuzeyma	Mohammad b. 'Abd-er-Kahmān b. Ijudeyğ	
772 El-Mahdi	772 Muīsā b. 'Olayy cl-Lakhmī	Muīsā b. Zarīk	Alī b. Ḥāfiẓ	'Abdallāh b. Lohīta	"
	778 'Īsā b. Luķmān	Ḥāfiẓ b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān	"	"	"
	779 Wādīh	Wādīh b. Yezid	Wādīh b. 'Abd-		
	779 Mansūr b. 'Olayy cl-Roṣaynī	'Olayy cl-Roṣaynī	'Olayy cl-Roṣaynī	"	
	779 'Abū-Ṣalih Vahyā (Ibn-Memduḥ)	'Abū-Ṣalih Vahyā (Ibn-Memduḥ)	'Abū-Ṣalih Vahyā (Ibn-Memduḥ)	"	
	780 Salīm b. Sa'wadā et-Temīmī	El-Akhḍar b. Marwān	El-Akhḍar b. Marwān	Ismā'il b. Sumay'	
	781 'Ibrāhīm b. Salīh b. 'All cl-'Abd-er-	'Assāma b. 'Amr	'Assāma b. 'Amr	Ghawth	"

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B.M. Catalogue and Collection Fouquet).
² A coin of Ibrâhim dated Mihr 167 = 7834 A.D. is

published (*Cat. Cairo*, 863); also a weight and stamp (B.M., Fouquet).

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

III. UNDER 'ABBASID CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
775 El-Mahdī	784 Müsā b. Muṣṭab 785 'Assāma b. 'Amr	'Assāma b. 'Amr		Ghawth El-Mufaddal Fuḍāla	b.
	785 'El-Fadī b. Sāliḥ b. Alī el-'Abbāsi	"		Abū-Ṭahir el-Nagrāg	
785 El-Hādī	786 'Alī b. Suleymān b. Alīf el-'Abbāsi	'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Müsā El-Hasan b. Yezid Ismā'il b. 'Isā	"	"	"
786 El-Rashīd	787 Müsā b. 'Isā el- 'Abbāsi	'Assāma b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān el-Baghdī	"	"	"
	789 Māshlama b. Yahyā el-Baghdī	'Assāma b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Maslama	"	"	"
	789 Muhammad b. Zuhayr el-Azdī	Hābil b. Alān	"	"	"
	790 Dāwid b. Yezid b. Hātim el-Mu- hallabī	'Ammār b. Muṣ'im	"	Omar b. 'Uthay- lān Ibrāhim b. Ṣalih	"
791 Müsā b. 'Isā el- 'Abbāsi <i>his</i>	Nasr b. Khālid b. Yezid	Kul- thūm	El-Mufaddal Fuḍāla	"	"
792 Ibrāhim b. Sāliḥ el-'Abbāsi <i>his</i>	"	"	"	"	'Assāma b. 'Amr et.c.

¹ Glass stamps and weights of these officials have been published (B.M. Catalogue, and Collection Funquet).

III. UNDER 'ABBASID CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
786 Er-Rashid	793 'Abdallāh b. el-Musayyab	Abū-l-Mukīs		El - Muṣadḍal b. Fudāla	
	793 Ishāk b. Suleymān ^a	Muslim b. Bekkār el-'Oqeylī	"	Muhammad b. Masruk	
	794 Ishaq b. 'Abd al-Malik	"	"	"	
	794 Hartama b. 'Ayan	"	"	"	
	794 'Abd al-Malik b. Sālih b. 'Alī el- 'Abhāsi (non- resident)	"	"	"	
	795 'Obeydallāh b. el- Mahdi el-'Ab- lāsi	Mo'awiya b. Ṣurad	"	Ishāk b. el-Furat Suleymān	
	796 Müsā b. 'Isā el- 'Abhāsi ^{ter}	Ammār b. Muslim	"	Dāwid b. Ḥu- beiyh	
	796 'Obeydallāh b. el- Mahdi <i>bis</i>	Suleymān b. cṣ- 'Alī el-'Abhāsi	"	'Awān b. Wahb	
	797 Ismā'il b. Sālih b.	Simma	"		
	798 Ismā'il b. 'Isā b.	Zeyd b. 'Abd el- 'Aziz	"		
	799 El-Leyth b. el-Faqīl	'Ali b. el-Vaqīl	Mahfūth b.	Ishāk b. el-Furat	'Alī b. el-Faqīl

¹ A weight of Ismā'il is in B.M. (*Cat. 23*), but of the time when he was *mukhtasir* of Egypt under the caliph el-Mahdi.

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

III. UNDER 'ABRĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
786 El-Rashid				'Abd-er-Kahnān b. 'Abdallāh	Hāshim b. 'Abd- allāh
803 Ahmad b. Ismā'il	Mo'āwiya b. Ṣurad			"	'Abd-er-Rah- mān b. Mūsā
b. 'Alīt, 'Abhāt				"	Hāshim b. 'Abd- allāh
805 'Obeydallāh (Ibn- Zeyneb) el-'Ab- bāsi	Aḥmad b. Mūsā				
	Mohammad b.				
	'Assāma				
806 El-Huseyn b. Gemil	El-Kāmil el-Hunā'i			"	
807 Mālik b. Delhem	Mohammad b. Tulbā el-Kellī			"	
809 El-Hasan b. Takhtāḥ	Mohammad b. G'eld	Mohammad b.	Ziyād		
809 El-Amin	Ṣāliḥ b.	'Abd-el-	Kerim		
	Suleymān b. Ghālib				
	'Ali b. el-Muthanna				
810 Ijlām b. Harthama b. A'yan	'Obeydallāh el- Farsūsī				Kāsim el-Bekrī
812 G'ābir b. el-Ash'ath et-Ṭā'i	Ibrāhīm b. Bekkā	c.			

III. UNDER 'ABBASID CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	VICE-GOVERNOR
809 El-Amin	812 ¹ 'Abhād el-Balkhī	Ihubeyrah b. IIāshim b. Ijudeyḡ		Lahī'a el-Had- ramī	
813 El-Ma'mūn	813 ² El-Muttafib el- Khuzā'ī	"	"	"	
	814 ³ El-'Abhās b. Muṣā b. Isā el-'Abhāsī	"	"	"	
	815 El-Muttafib <i>bis</i>	"	"	"	
	816 ⁴ Es-Sarī b. el- Ilakam	Mohammad b. 'Assāma	"	"	
	816 Suleyman b. Ghālib el-Baġellī	Abū-Bekr b. G'u- nāda	"		
	817 Es-Sarī <i>bis</i>	El-'Abhās b. Lahī'a Muhammad b.	"		
		Osāma			
		El-IIārith b. Zur'a			
		Meymūn b. es-Sarī			
		Ibu-el-Mukhārik			
		G'arrāb			
820 ⁵ Muhammad b. es- Sarī	Muhammad b. Kabis	"		"	

¹ Gold coins of 'Abhād dated 196, 197, 198 (812-813) are in the Cairo collection.

² Gold coins of el-Muttafib dated 198, 199 (813-815), and silver of 199, are in B.M. and Cairo collections.

³ Gold coin of el-'Abhās, dated 198, is in Cairo coll.

⁴ Gold coins of es-Sarī dated 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, (815-820) are in the B.M., Cairo, or Arīn Pashā's colls.

⁵ Gold coins of Mohammad b. es-Sarī dated 205, 206 (820-2) are in the B.M., Cairo, and Ilernitage colls.

TERRORS OF EGYPT

一一一

CAL. I. III

786

100

114 in ep. 70001

卷之二

*I hold copies of al-*Shaylah* dated 206, 207, 208, 209,
etc. (*Kat Katib*) in the B.M. and Cairo colls.*

² A plan whereby of Schools stamped by an order
issued in 1947 (G.R. 241) is in H.M. (Cat. 271)

III. UNDER 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS (*continued*)

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	WAR	FINANCE	JUSTICE	FEFFEE
833 El-Mo'ta- ṣim	834 Mūsā el-Ḥanafī			Hārūn er-Zulhīl	
842 El-Wāthik	843 Isā b. Mansūr <i>bis</i> 847 Harthama b. en- Nadr	Mālik b. Keydar 'Alī b. Yahyā el- Armenī		Abū-l-Wezīr I-Leyth	Mohammed b. Abū- l-Zayth
847 El-Muta- wekkīl	849 Hātim b. Har- thama			"	Itāsh
850 Ishāk b. (Khūt)	851 'Abd-ei-Wāhid b. Yahyā	'Alī b. Yahyā <i>bis</i> Mo'awiyah Nō'ejn		"	El-Muntasir
852 'Anbarsa b. et-Turki	856 Yezid b. 'Abdallāh	Ishāk Kummi	Mohammad b. Suleymān el- Baqfīlī	Aḥmad b. Khā- lid Aḥmad b. Mu- adelhīr	El-Hāfiyah b. Meskīn
861 El-Muntasir	862 El-Musta'īn			Bekkār b. Kuteyba	El-Feth b. Khā- kān

GOVERNORS OF EGYPT

CALIPH	GOVERNOR	NAME	PERIOD
866 El-Mo'izz	Wāṣik	Abū'l- Khaṭṭāb Wāṣik	866-867
867 Mu'izz b. Khaṭṭāb	Afḍūz b. Mu'izz	Abū'l- Khaṭṭāb Afḍūz	867-868
868 Ahmad b. Mu'izz	"	Abū'l- Khaṭṭāb Ahmad	"
868	him	"	"
	Argūz Tarkhān	Argūz Tarkhān	

CHAPTER III

ΤŪLŪN AND IKHSHĪD

868—969

Authorities.—El-Mas'ūdī, G'emāl-ed-din of Aleppo, Ibn-el-Athīr, Ibn-Khallikān, el-Maqrīzī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, es-Suyūtī, Ibn-Khalidūn.

Monuments.—Mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, aqueduct south of Cairo, new Nilometer at Rōda.

Inscriptions.—Mosque, Nilometer (?), gravestones, two shop title-deeds of wood (see van Berchem, *Corpus inscr. arab.*).

Coinage.—Mints: Miṣr (i.e. el-Fustāt), Damascus, Aleppo, Emesa, Antioch, Harrān, er-Rāfiqa, Palestine (i.e. er-Ramla).

SINCE 856 the governors of Egypt had been Turks, and, twenty years before that, the province had been given in fee to successive Turks at Baghdād, who appointed lieutenant-governors to administer it for them. This change from Arab to Turkish rule was part of a revolution which was felt in most parts of the caliphate, and led to the extinction of the temporal authority of the "commander of the faithful." From the time when the Arabs came in contact with the Turks on the Oxus and brought them under their rule, Turkish slaves had been highly prized in Muslim households. Their physical strength and beauty, their courage, and their fidelity had won the trust of the great emirs, and especially of the caliphs, who believed they could rely more safely upon the devotion of these purchased foreigners than upon their own jealous Arabs or the Persians among whom they dwelt and who had hitherto had a large share in the administration of the empire. The young Turkish slave who served his master well usually acquired his freedom and received valuable court appointments. "The caliphs, who were often unable to appease the turbulent spirits of the native

error (*i.e., minimal*)

military instruction given to the young Turks at Samarrā, the caliph's new residence up the Tigris. On one of his journeys from Tarsūs he was able to defeat some Arab marauders and rescue a large treasure which was being brought from Constantinople to the caliph; and later he was chosen to accompany the deposed pontiff el-Musta'in in his exile at Wāsiṭ. When offered a handsome bribe to put the caliph out of the way, Ahmād indignantly refused. His loyalty brought him no disfavour among the Turks, however, and when the emir Bākbāk, who had married the widow of Tūlūn (†854), was presented to the fief of Egypt, he sent his stepson Ahmād as his representative.

Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmād ibn-Tūlūn entered Fustāt in September, 868, at the age of thirty-three. A rich friend advanced 10,000 *D.* to meet his expenses, since the new governor was apparently penniless, and having held no previous appointment was quite unversed in the official methods of squeezing his subjects. He was a man of great ability, however, and a good judge of men, and he soon made his authority felt. Throughout his reign he had an able coadjutor in his secretary, Ahmād of Wāsiṭ. He had to deal first with the treasurer, Ibn-Mudebbir, a crafty peculator, who had enjoyed a free hand with the revenue for some years, and kept up a state which outshone the governor's. He was always followed by a mounted escort of a hundred powerful young slaves, beautiful to behold, and dressed with elaborate finery, Persian cloaks, and silver-mounted whips. Judging the new governor by his own standard, the treasurer sent him 10,000 *D.* as a small douceur, and was surprised to find them returned. Ibn-Tūlūn presently informed him that instead of the money he would accept the guard, and the treasurer had to send him his escort of slaves. Finding his authority vanishing with his pomp, he appealed to the caliph to remove the imperturbable governor; but Ibn-Tūlūn stayed on. He had other enemies besides those of his ministry. The 'Alids rose to the west of Alexandria in 869; other 'Alids carried fire and sword through the district of Esnē in the Sa'id. Both were put

Egypt. Jim-Talun's
appointment was
made, whose daughter
had married not only gave
the setting simply, "Go



*Scale of Kilometer on island of Röda,
16 century.*

"—but delivered into his charge
Kemaria and other places which had not
been included in his original patent of command. Ibn-
Wardan was given the government of the great port in 870,
and got the former commandant in office. His
new men were true that when the province once

more changed its nominal head, in 872, he scarcely troubled to obtain the formal ratification of the new chief, el-Muwaffak, the caliph's brother. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the caliph at his palace of Samarrā on the Tigris, to give an account of his stewardship. This too obvious manoeuvre of his enemies was met very simply by sending his secretary with ample bribes and tribute money, and it ended in strengthening his position. His two chief secret opponents in Egypt were got rid of: one was so terrified by his threats that he went home and died; the other, the treasurer, Ibn-Mudebbir, was glad to exchange his post for the exchequer of Syria.

Ibn-Tūlūn now held kingly state in Egypt. The government house at el-'Askar, the official suburb of Fustāt, was too small to house his numerous retinue and army. He was not content, either, with a mere governor's palace. In 870 he chose a site on the hill of Yeshkūr,⁸⁷⁰ between Fustāt and the Muqāṭam hills, levelled the graves of the Christian cemetery there, and founded the royal suburb of el-Ḳatā'i or "the Wards," so called because each separate class or nationality (as household servants, Greeks, Sūdānis) had a distinct quarter assigned to it. The new town stretched from the present Rumeyla beside the citadel to the shrine of Zeyn-el-'Abidin, and covered a square mile. The new palace was built below the old "Dome of the Air," and had a great garden and a spacious enclosed horse-course or meydān adjoining it, with mews and a menagerie; the government house was on the south of the great mosque, which still stands, and there was a private passage which led from the residence to the oratory of the emir. A separate palace held the harim, and there were magnificent baths, markets, and all apparatus of luxury. The great mosque was not begun till 876-7 and took two years in building. It is remarkable for the use (for the first time in mosques) of brick piers, instead of stone columns taken from earlier monuments, and for being the earliest dated example (the pointed arches of the second Nilometer on the island of Rōda are possibly a few years earlier) of pointed



~~Fig. 22.—Mosque in Al-Azhar Inn Cairo, 877-79.~~

arches throughout the building,—earlier by at least two centuries than any in England. Its architect was a Copt, and was granted 100,000 dinārs to build the mosque, and given 10,000 for himself, with a handsome allowance for life.¹ Another great work was the building by the same Coptic architect of an aqueduct to bring water to the palace from a spring in the southern desert.² Ibn-Tūlūn also dredged and cleared the canal of Alexandria, repaired the Nilometer on the island of Röda and built a fort there.

When it is noted that in 870 the treasurer sent 750,000 *D.* as tribute to the caliph, and in four years 2,200,000 ; that some of the new buildings at Kātā'i were estimated to have cost nearly half a million, that Ibn-Tūlūn gave to the poor at least 1000 *D.* a month beyond the obligatory alms, kept open house and spent 1000 *D.* a day

¹ The story of the origin of the curious corkscrew tower or minaret, in the winding of a strip of paper round the finger, is well-known. The true original of the tower, however, seems to be the similar corkscrew tower at Samarrā, which Ibn-Tūlūn doubtless saw in his youth. Architects, however, throw doubts on the antiquity of Ibn-Tūlūn's minaret.

² A story is told that some objection was made to the water conveyed in this aqueduct, and Ibn-Tūlūn sent for the learned doctor Mohammad ibn-'Abd-el-Hakam. "I was one night in my house," he related, "when a slave of Ibn-Tūlūn's came and said, 'The emir wants thee.' I mounted my horse in a panic of terror, and the slave led me off the high road. 'Where are you taking me,' I asked. 'To the desert,' was the reply : 'the emir is there.' Convinced that my last hour was come, I said, 'God help me ! I am an aged and feeble man : do you know what he wants with me.' The slave took pity on my fears and said, 'Beware of speaking disrespectfully of the aqueduct.' We went on till suddenly I saw torch-bearers in the desert, and Ibn-Tūlūn on horseback at the door of the aqueduct, with great wax candles burning before him. I forthwith dismounted and salaamed, but he did not greet me in return. Then I said, 'O emir, thy messenger hath grievously fatigued me, and I thirst ; let me, I beg, take a drink.' The pages offered me water, but I said, 'No, I will draw for myself.' I drew water while he looked on, and drank till I thought I should have burst. At last I said, 'O emir, God quench thy thirst at the rivers of Paradise ! for I have drunk my fill, and know not which to praise most, the excellence of this cool, sweet, clear water, or the delicious smell of the aqueduct.' 'Let him retire,' said Ibn-Tūlūn, and the slave whispered, 'Thou hast hit the mark'" (*Maqrizi, Khitat*).

on his table, was lavish to learned men, had a large army and a numerous household to pay, and costly forts to maintain on the frontier, it is incredible that he could have met all his expenses on the revenue of 4,300,000*D.* a year;¹ and the legend that he paid for his mosque with treasure which he dug up is natural enough. It is more than probable that he mulcted the Coptic patriarch now and then in heavy fines, as the Christian writers allege, though he did not extort unjust taxes from the Coptic population, who enjoyed a rare immunity from persecution during his reign. The constantly increasing expenditure, however, led to the discontinuance of the annual surplus to the caliph's brother. El-Muwaffak prepared an army to depose the too powerful viceroy, but it came to nought; the army got no further than Rakka, where it stopped for lack of funds. Nor did two rebellions in the Sa'id and in Barka succeed any better.

⁸⁷² Encouraged by this immunity, Ibn-Tülün extended his borders. He had before this been on the point of occupying Syria at the caliph's desire, and though another governor was afterwards appointed, he held that he had a prior claim to the province. On the death of this governor, Mägür, who had proved a formidable and jealous obstacle to his advance, Ibn-Tülün set aside the title of the son who had been appointed in Mägür's place, and throwing off all semblance of obedience to the caliph, ⁸⁷³ marched in April, 878, to Damascus and received the immediate homage of the officials and inhabitants. Thence he made a progress through Syria, accepting the allegiance of the chief towns, as far as Tarsüs, the scene of his early studies. Only Antioch resisted, under Simā the Long, and after a bombardment by mangonels, aided by treason within, was stormed and sacked in September. Massisa and Adhana were next occupied, but Tarsüs for the moment defied his attack. His dominions now stretched from the Euphrates and the frontier of the

¹ G'emäl-ed-din, who gives these details, only mentions the *kharāj* or land-tax, which (he says) rose from 800,000 under Ibn-Mudebir to 4,300,000 under Ibn-Tülün. To this must apparently be added the poll-tax on non-Muslims, and other dues and contributions.

Byzantine empire to Barķa on the Mediterranean, and Aswān at the first cataract of the Nile.¹ Leaving strong detachments at Rakka, Harrān and Damascus, to hold his new possession, and carrying away 600,000 *D.* which he



Fig 13.—Founder's inscription in mosque of
Ibn-Tūlūn, 879.

extorted from his old enemy Ibu-Mudebbir, the treasurer of Syria, he hastened back to Egypt, after just a year's

¹ Ibn-Tūlūn first began to put his name on his coinage after this campaign. Hitherto the coins struck by him in Egypt bore only the name of the reigning caliph; but in A.H. 266 (879-880) the dinārs of Miṣr present the name of Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn as well as the caliph's. He never omitted the caliph's name, but he did not add (as governors of other provinces did) the name of the regent el-Muwaṭṭak. His coins were issued at Miṣr in A.H. 266, 267, 268, 269, 270 (the year of his death); er-Rāfiḳa, 267, 268, 270; Damascus, 270.

absence, to deal with his eldest son, el-'Abbās, who had taken advantage of his temporary elevation to the office of vice-governor to throw off the paternal authority. On his father's approach, however, he lost courage, and carrying off all the treasure and war material he could lay hands on, retreated with 800 horse and 10,000 of his father's famous black infantry to Barķa. His father tried persuasion, and sent the ḫāḍī Bekkār to reason with him, in vain ; the fatuous young man refused all offers, and dreamed of a North African kingdom. He even laid siege to Tripolis, and plundered Lebda, until driven off with heavy loss by the Aghlabid prince of Tūnis. After eluding his pursuers for two years, he was at length defeated and captured by his father's troops, and brought to Fustāt, where he witnessed (some say he was forced to 88: take part in) the torture and execution of his fellow-rebels, received a hundred stripes himself, and spent the rest of his life in captivity.

The breach between Ibn-Tūlūn and his nominal superior el-Muwaffak, the caliph's brother, was widened

when the latter trafficked with the loyalty of Lu'lū, the commander of the Egyptian detachment on the frontier at Rakka.¹ Lu'lū went over with all his army to the enemy, and even drove Ibn-



Fig. 14.—Dinār of Ahmad ibn-Tūlūn,
Miṣr, 881.

Tūlūn's representative, Ibn-Ṣafwān, out of Karkisiyā, on the Euphrates. El-Muwaffak was far the most powerful prince in Mesopotamia, and he made his power felt so

¹ A dinār struck at er-Rāfiḳā (a suburb of er-Rakka) in A.H. 268 (881-2) bears the name of Lu'lū beneath that of Ahmad ibn Tūlūn (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Cairo Collection*, no. 905). In the following year Lu'lū threw over Ibn-Tūlūn and joined el-Muwaffak's party. In 270 a Rāfiḳā dinār appeared with Ibn-Tūlūn's name, but without Lu'lū's (Lavoix, *Cat. Monn. Or., Egypte*, no. 3).

disagreeably to his brother, el-Mo'temid, that in 882 the helpless caliph attempted to escape to Ibn-Tūlūn, who had offered him protection, partly, no doubt, with a view to saving the annual tribute, and partly to diminish the influence of Muwaffak. The presence of the caliph under his wing at Miṣr would, no doubt, have increased the ambitious governor's prestige, and might have changed to some extent the future both of the caliphate and of Egypt; but the fugitive was unhappily caught on his way, and taken back to Samarrā. An attempt of Ibn-Tūlūn's to get possession of the holy city of Mekka, for his greater glory, was also frustrated. His troops were driven out, and he was publicly cursed in the sacred mosque.⁸⁸³

These repulses only exasperated the governor of Egypt, and he showed his resentment by cutting the name of the regent Muwaffak out of the Friday bidding-prayer which (with the coinage) in M̄ehmmadan countries forms the official act of homage to the sovereign powers. He even assembled a meeting of kādīs and lawyers at Damascus, who proclaimed the deposition of the regent and his exclusion from the succession, on the ground of his ill-treatment of his brother the caliph. Bekkār, who had been kādī of Egypt for more than twenty years, and was distinguished for his scrupulous conscientiousness, refused to sign the declaration, of which both the grounds and legality were doubtful; he was accordingly thrown into prison, where he languished till his death, still holding his dignified office, and teaching students from the window of the gaol. The only result of these futile proceedings was that the caliph was forced by his imperious brother to order Ibn-Tūlūn to be cursed from the pulpit in every mosque in his dominions. There can be little doubt that if el-Muwaffak had not been taxed to the utmost in dealing with a serious revolt of the Zeng or East African slaves who had settled in lower Mesopotamia, Ibn-Tūlūn's effrontery would have been more severely punished.

He had better fortune on the north-west border, where his friendly relations with the emperor had been changed

to hostility, and Khalaf, his lieutenant at Tarsūs, had (881) led a successful raid and returned with much booty. Again, in 883, the Romans under Kesta Stypiotes suffered a disastrous defeat at Chrysobullon¹ near Tarsūs at the hands of Ibn-Tūlūn's forces, in which at least 60,000 Christians are said to have fallen, and valuable spoils of gold and silver, jewelled crucifixes, sacred vessels, and vestments, besides 15,000 horses, were taken. The eunuch who had commanded the victorious army was so elated that he threw off his master's yoke, and Ibn-Tūlūn was obliged to march in person to vindicate his authority. It was a severe winter, and his opponent dammed the river, flooded the country, and nearly drowned the besieging army at Adhana. Ibn-Tūlūn was forced to retire to Antioch, where a copious indulgence in buffalo milk, following upon the exposure



Fig. 15.—Title-deed (on wood) to a shop, 882.

and privations of the campaign, brought on a dysentery. He was carried in a litter to Fustāt, where he grew worse. In sickness the fierce emir was a terror to his doctors. He refused to follow their orders, flouted their prescribed diet, and when he found himself still sinking, he had their heads chopped off, or flogged them till they died. In vain Muslims, Jews, and Christians offered up public prayers for his recovery. Korān and Tora and Gospel could not save him; and he died in May, 884, before he had reached the age of fifty.

Aḥmad ibn-Tūlūn is described by Ibn-Khallikān, who

¹ Theophanis Contin., pp. 286-8 (ed. Bonn); George the Monk, p. 847 (ed. Bonn).

used the almost contemporary biography of Ibn-ed-Dāya², as "a generous prince, just, brave, and pious; an able ruler, an unerring judge of character. He directed in person all public affairs, re-peopled the provinces, and inquired diligently into the condition of his subjects. He admired men of learning, and kept every day an open table for his friends and the public. A monthly sum of 1000 *D.* was expended by him in alms, and when one of his officials consulted him as to giving relief to a woman who wore a good veil and a gold ring, yet asked for charity, he answered, 'Give to every one who holds out the hand to you.' But with all these virtues he was too hasty with the sword, and it is related that 18,000 persons were put to death by him or died in his prisons. He knew the Korān by heart, and had a beautiful voice: none recited it more diligently than he." In spite of the necessity of a large revenue to furnish the means for his grandiose plans and magnificent buildings, and his extravagant court, so far from raising the taxes, he abolished Ibn-Mudebbir's new imposts, and encouraged peasant proprietorship and security of tenure, to use modern terms; so that his revenue was due more to better cultivation than to extortion. He left ten million dinārs in his treasury, from seven to ten thousand mounted mamlūks, twenty-four thousand slaves of the bodyguard, a stud of three hundred horses, thousands of mules, asses, and camels, and a hundred ships of war. He was at least the first Muslim, since the Arab conquest, who revived the power of Egypt and beautified her capital.

Abū-l-G'eysh Khumāraweyh,¹ the second of Ahmad's seventeen sons (he had besides sixteen daughters), succeeded his father. The eldest son was still expiating his rebellion in prison, where his warders now made an

¹ Khumāraweyh's coinage, almost entirely of gold like the rest of the Tūlūnid coinage, was issued at Miṣr, A.H. 271 (884-5 A.D.) consecutively every year to 282 (895-6); er-Rāfiqa, 270, 273, 275, 276, 278, 279; Damascus, 272, 275, 276, 277, 281; Emesa (Hims), 274; Harrān, 276; Antioch, 276, 278, 279; Aleppo, 281; Fileṣṭin (Palestine, i.e. er-Ramla), 277, 278

end of him, to save disputes. A youth of only twenty years, with a decided taste for self-indulgence, and no experience of either war or government, Khumāraweyh seemed marked out as the prey of craftier heads ; and it needed one or two sharp lessons to rouse him to the degree of energy necessary for the preservation of his realm. It says much for his character that he was able to recover from his first humiliations, and not only to maintain but extend his inheritance. Two formidable antagonists, the Turkish governors of Mōṣil and Anbār, on the Tigris and Euphrates, combined with the warden of Damascus to overthrow the supremacy of Egypt in Syria, and restore Khumāraweyh's Asiatic possessions to the caliph, or rather to his active brother, Muwaffak. They had a fair pretext, since Khumāraweyh had no official title to the government of Egypt, whilst the governor of Mōṣil, Ishāk ibn Kundāgik, had received the caliph's diploma for it. There was no hereditary title at that date. They occupied Syria, supported by Muwaffak's son, Abū-l-'Abbās, who entered Damascus ²⁸⁵ in February, 885. Khumāraweyh had already sent troops by land and sea to oppose them, and an Egyptian force had been blockaded and defeated at Sheyzar, on the Orontes. He then led a fresh army of 70,000 men into Palestine, which encountered a small force of the enemy under Abū-l-'Abbās at et-Tawāḥin, "The Mills," on the Abū-Butrus river, near Ramla. Unhappily, Khumāraweyh, who had never before seen a pitched battle, was seized with panic, and fled pell-mell to Egypt, followed by the greater part of his army. Only the reserve stood firm, under Sa'd el A'sar, and whilst their prince and comrades were vying with each other who should first reach safety at Miṣr, this sturdy remnant fell upon the enemy, who were busily engaged in plundering the Egyptian camp, and utterly routed them. Sa'd searched in vain for his master, whose disgraceful flight was hardly credited, and then marched on Damascus, and from the recovered capital of Syria sent a despatch to his trembling sovereign announcing the unexpected news of a brilliant victory. As Khumāraweyh stayed idly in Egypt for a

whole year—a year marked by a violent earthquake, which shook down houses, damaged the mosque of 'Amr, and killed a thousand people in Fustat in a single day—the impression of his cowardliness was confirmed, and Sa'd, at Damascus, declined to serve such a master. On his declaration of independence, Khumāraweyh set out again, gained a decisive victory over his rebellious subject, and entered Damascus in June, 886. Continuing his march, he met the governor of Mōṣil, Ibn-Kundāgik, in pitched battle, and checking a retreat with much personal bravery, drove the enemy in confusion as far as Samarrā on the Tigris. Having vindicated his character as a general, he concluded peace with Muwaffak, and a diploma, signed by the caliph and his brother, and by the heir to the caliphate, was sent assigning him the governments of Egypt, Syria, and the Roman marches, for thirty years.

Inspired by his successes, Khumāraweyh accepted an appeal to interfere in a contest then in progress between Ibn-Abi-Sāg, the governor of Anbār, and his former ally, Ibn-Kundāgik, and the result of a campaign in Mesopotamia was the capture of Rakka,¹ and the recognition of the prince of Egypt as regent and governor of Mōṣil and Mesopotamia in the public prayers. His new vassal, Ibn-Abi-Sāg, however, proving fickle, invaded Syria, and Khumāraweyh once more displayed his generalship by defeating him in May, 888, near Damascus, and pursuing him as far as Beled on the Tigris, on the bank of which the conqueror built a lofty throne to sit in triumph. The war of the emirs kept him in Mesopotamia and Syria for more than a year. One result of his enhanced reputation was the adhesion of Yāzmān, or Bazmāz, the eunuch governor of Ṭarsūs, who had repudiated the authority of the Tūlūnids since 883, but now signified his homage with presents of 30,000 *D.*, 1000 robes, and arms, and followed them up

¹ Coins of er-Rāfiqa (i.e. Rakka) of A.H. 273 and 275 bear the name of Khumāraweyh, but one of 274 (A.D. 887-8) omits his name. This was doubtless struck during Ibn-Kundāgik's occupation of Rakka.

with 50,000 *D.* more. Several raids were made from Tarsūs into Roman territory in 891-4.

The death of Muwaffak in 891, followed by that of Ibn-Kundāgik, and of the caliph Mo'temid in 892, led to ⁸⁹² a closer understanding between Egypt and Baghdād. The former diploma was renewed for thirty years, and Khumāraweyh offered to marry his daughter Kaṭr-en-Nedā ("Dewdrop") to the caliph's son. El-Mo'taqid, however, preferred to wed her himself. The bride was hardly ten years old, but the wedding was postponed till 895, when she was nearly twelve. An exchange of costly presents preceded the marriage; the caliph's *dot* included a million dirhems, rare perfumes from China and India, and various precious things; the bride was carried on a litter from Egypt to Mesopotamia, and at every night's halt she found a palace built ready for her with every possible luxury prepared. Her portion included 4000 jewelled waistbands, ten coffers of jewels, and a thousand gold mortars for pounding the perfumes for her elaborate toilette. This aristocratic alliance cost Khumāraweyh a million dinārs; but in return his dominion was once more confirmed from Hit on the Euphrates to Barķa on the Mediterranean, and his annual tribute to the caliph was fixed at 300,000 *D.* The yearly pay of his troops in Egypt amounted to 900,000 *D.*; and his kitchen alone cost him 23,000 *D.* a month. The caliph viewed with satisfaction the impoverishment of his formidable vassal, whose extravagance increased with every year. The passion which Ibn-Tūlūn had shown for splendid building was fully shared by his son, who enlarged the palace in Kaṭā'i, and converted the Meydān into a garden stocked with all kinds of sweet-smelling flowers, planted in the form of sentences and other designs, with rare trees, and date palms set with gilded tanks of water. An aviary was filled with beautiful birds. His "golden-house" was adorned with painted images of himself and his wives and singers, despite the Muslim prejudice against portraiture. And to soothe his restless nights an air-bed

was laid upon a lake of quicksilver,¹ nearly a hundred feet square (*sic!*), and rocked very agreeably, moored by silken cords to silver columns. A tame lion from his menagerie guarded his master whilst he slept.

Neither the lion nor his bodyguard of vigorous young Arabs from the truculent Hawf could save the voluptuous prince from the jealousies of his harem. Early in 896 some domestic intrigue ended in his being murdered by his slaves whilst on a visit to Damascus. His murderers were crucified, and, amid loud lamentations, his body was buried beside his father's, not far from his stately palace, under Mount Muqattam. Seven Korān readers were engaged in reciting the sacred book at the tomb of Ibn-Tū'lūn, and when the bearers brought the body of Khumāraweyh and began to lower it into the grave, they happened to be chanting the verse, "Seize him and hurl him into the fire of hell" (Kor. xliv. 47).

His eldest son, Abū-l-'Asākir G'eysh,² who succeeded him, was a boy of fourteen, utterly incapable of taking a serious view of his position, and wrapped up in the pleasures and follies of his age. Syria and the northern frontier disowned his authority, the army and government were neglected, the treasury empty; and after murdering three of his uncles the young savage was himself assassinated by his troops, after a few months' abuse of power. His last public act was to throw two of his murdered uncles' heads to the mutineers, crying, "There are your emirs for you!" His younger brother, Abū-Müsā Hārūn,³ was now set on the throne with Ibn-Abālī, the major domo, as regent; but the prince was as careless and incapable as his brother, and the regent was no statesman. The Turkish officers did what they pleased; an uncle led a rebel army to Fusṭāṭ, but was defeated; and Syria and Tarsūs were under no sort of

¹ Traces of the quicksilver were found in later years on excavating the ground after the destruction of the palace.

² A coin of Miṣr, A.H. 283 (896) bears the name of G'eysh b. Khumāraweyh.

³ Hārūn's coins are struck at Miṣr, A.H. 283—92; Damascus, 284, 288; Aleppo, 285, and Palestine, 285, 290, 291.

control, though the caliph accorded Hārūn the patent as ^{as} governor of Syria and Egypt, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of 450,000*D.*, and resigning the northern districts of Syria. The Karmatīs (Carmathians) overran Syria and laid siege to Damascus, and the Egyptian armies suffered heavy losses. The caliph at last found it necessary to interfere. Strengthened by a decisive victory over the Carmathians, and supported by some leading



Fig. 16. Dinar of Hārūn b. Khumārāweyh,
Miṣr, 904.

to smooth the progress of "Dewdrop" to her nuptials at Baghdād. Here Hārūn assembled his half-hearted troops, and here, as he lay intoxicated in bed, two of his uncles entered his tent and made away with ^{as} his useless life.¹ The murderer Sheybān, son of Ibn-Tūlūn, took his nephew's government, and prudently withdrew the army to Miṣr, where he laboured, in spite of a depleted treasury, to win popularity by promises and gifts. The caliph's general, Muhammad b. Suleymān, pursued, and after a brief resistance Sheybān surrendered on terms, and left his army to its fate. Muhammad entered Ḫaṭā'i on Jan. 10, butchered most of the black troops, burnt their quarters, and utterly demolished the beautiful city which Ibn-Tūlūn had built. The mosque was respected, but the houses were sacked and pulled down, the gates were thrown open, the women outraged, and the people used as brutally as if they had been heathen. After an orgy of devastation, plunder,

Egyptian emirs in Syria, he sent a fleet from Tarsūs to Damietta and an army overland to 'Abbāsa, a small town on the Syrian frontier, a day's march from Bilbeys, developed out of one of the rest-houses erected

¹ Dm. 20-30. Other accounts ascribe the murder to his slaves, under his uncle's orders, or to a Maghribī soldier in a camp broil.

and extortion, which lasted four months, the caliph's army withdrew, taking Sheybān and all the remaining members of Tūlūn's family as prisoners to Baghdād. The dynasty had lasted thirty-seven years and four months, during which Egypt had regained much of her ancient importance, and her capital had reached a height of wealth and luxury unknown since the Arab conquest.

THE IKHSHĪD.

Authorities.—El-Mas'ūdi, G'emāl-ed-dīn, Ibn-el-Athīr, Ibn-Khallīkān, el-Maqrīzī, Abū-l-Malhāsin, es-Suyūti, el-Ishākī.

Inscription.—Of Kūlūr on east wall of Iharān at Jerusalem.

Coins.—Minted at Miṣr (Fustāt), Filestīn (Kamla), Damascus, Hims, Tiberias.

For thirty years after the fall of the house of Tūlūn Egypt remained in an unsettled state. It was once more a dependent province, but the caliphs had become too weak to exert their authority, and the government was in the hands of Turkish soldiers. The armies sent from Baghdād, to hold Egypt against internal revolt and foreign invasion, dictated their own terms to successive governors, and the man who would rule the province must first be acceptable to the troops, whose favour depended upon their pay. Next to the generals, therefore, the most powerful personage was the treasurer, and this office was held during the whole of this disturbed period by one family, called Mādarāni (from their birth-place Mādarāyā, near Baṣra, on the Euphrates), who gradually acquired all but supreme power in Egypt. The other officials were of less importance under this military tyranny than in the earlier period of provincial government, and only one kādi deserves commemoration, the universally revered Ibn-Harbaweyh, the last judge

whom the governors visited in state, and who did not rise to receive them.

The feeble hold which the caliphs' governors retained on the country is shown by the successful usurpation of an obscure but spirited young man named Muḥammad 995 el-Khalangi, who collected in Palestine a handful of Egyptians who sympathized with the fallen house of Tūlūn ; seized Ramla, and recited the public prayers in the three names of the caliph, as head of church and state, Ibrāhim (a captive son of Khumāraweyh) as governor, and himself as his deputy. The people listened placidly, and seemed interested in this curious band of adventurers, driven from house and home, and without any visible means of subsistence. The troops led against them by 'Isā, who had taken over the government of Egypt from the 'Abbāsid general, retreated step by step, and in September, 905, Khalangi entered Fusṭāt and proclaimed in the prayers the same three names as at Ramla. The people, who had not forgotten the glorious days of Ibn-Tūlūn, rejoiced at the shadowy restoration, and in the height of enthusiasm painted themselves and their horses yellow with saffron. The adventurer appointed the necessary officers of administration, and took up his residence in the governor's house unopposed. His popularity and following increased with his immunity. It is true he found an empty treasury, for 'Isā had carried off the public money together with all the account-books and most of the clerks, so that it was impossible to discover the due assessments of the tax-payers. But Khalangi did not trouble himself much about legality, and bade his collectors draw the revenue as best they could, covering their extortions with an orderly distribution of receipts and promises of reimbursement on the recovery of the tax-books. This wonderful young man next sent troops by sea and land to Alexandria (though the real governor of Egypt was encamped hard by), captured the city, and brought back in triumph not only the governor's treasure, but some of the missing accountants. Meanwhile the caliph, who did not recognize the self-constituted lieutenant-governor, sent an army from Mesopotamia to

bring him to reason, but Khalangî drove it away from el-'Arish with much slaughter. The time of reckoning, however, was at hand. A defeat of part of his army by 'Isâ was followed by the arrival by sea and land of stronger forces from the caliph, which effected a junction with 'Isâ; and after a series of determined engagements, Khalangî was forced back upon Fustât, where he was betrayed by his friends to the tardily vindicated government, and sent to the caliph at Baghdâd, to be displayed on a camel as a fearful example to the whole city, and then executed (May, 906). That a mere adventurer should have held the capital of Egypt and defied the caliph's armies for eight months is a striking comment on the insecurity of the government.¹⁰⁶

To add to the confusion came the danger of foreign invasion. The famous dynasty of the Fâtimid caliphs—¹⁰⁹ the greatest Shi'a power in mediaeval history—was

¹ The following is the list of the governors of Egypt from the downfall of the Tûlûnid dynasty to the accession of the Ikhshid :—

CALIPHS.	GOVERNORS.
El-Muktefi. 905	'Isâ b. Muhammad en-Nûshari. Usurpation of el-Khalangî, Sept., 905— May, 906.
908 El-Muktedir.	910 Tekin el-Khâssa el-G'ezeri. 915 Dhukâ er-Rûmi. 919 Tekin restored. 921 Mahmûd b. Hamal (for three days). 921 Tekin again (for a few days). 921 Hilâl b. Bedr. 923 Ahmad b. Keyghalagh. 924 Tekin (for fourth time).
932 El-Kâhir.	933 Mohammad b. Tekin.
933 Er-Râdi.	933 Mohammad b. Tughî the Ikhshid (absent). 933 Ahmad b. Keyghalagh. 934 Usurpation of Mohammad b. Tekin, June— July.
	935 The Ikhshid.

The marshals were frequently changed under these governors; Mohammad b. Tâhir was the most important. The chief kâdi under the first seven governors to 924 was Ibn-Harbaweyh. The treasurers were Abû-Zunbur el-Mâdarâni and his successor Mohammad el-Mâdarâni.

beginning its conquest of North Africa. In 909 the last of the once powerful house of the Aghlabids of Tunis came flying to Egypt, and his pursuers were not far behind. In 913-4 Khubāsa, the Fātimid general, entered Barkā, committing abominable atrocities ; and, in July, 914, joined by el-Kāim, the son of the first Fātimid caliph el-Mahdi, he occupied Alexandria without opposition—the inhabitants in panic had taken to their ships—and thence, avoiding Fustāt, advanced as far as the Fayyūm. There the invaders were attacked and defeated by the Egyptian army—strongly reinforced from Baghdād—and driven out of Egypt.⁹¹⁹ Five years later they returned to the attack ; the Alexandrians had again to take to the water, their city was sacked, the Fayyūm devastated, and fire and sword carried as far as Ushmuneyn. Meanwhile the Fātimid fleet of eighty-five sail anchored in Alexandria harbour. The caliph's admirals could only collect twenty ships at Tarsūs to send against it, but so well were they handled that most of the enemy's vessels were burned with naphtha, and their crews and soldiery killed or brought prisoners to Fustāt. On land, however, the outlook was less hopeful. Ducas the Greek (Dhukā er-Rāmī), who was then governor, had great difficulty in getting the Egyptian troops to move ; they had to be bribed with gratuities, and even then they timidly entrenched their camp at G'iza to prevent surprise. At this critical moment Ducas died, and his successor, Tekin, was fortunately a *persona grata* with the troops, and inspired some confidence among the panic-stricken population. The invaders in the Fayyūm, moreover, were suffering severely from famine and plague, brought on by their own excesses. Their attack on the G'iza camp, now protected by a double ditch, was repulsed at about the same date as the victory off Alexandria ; but they still held Upper Egypt, and Tekin hardly attempted to dislodge them, even when strongly reinforced by 3000 fresh troops sent from Baghdād. He was hampered by intrigues at home, for both the kādi and Mādarāni the treasurer, with many other leading persons, were discovered to be in treasonable correspondence with the

Fātimid caliph and eager to welcome him at Fustāt. With treachery in the capital, and Alexandria in the enemy's hands, Tekin stood on the defensive, until a second contingent from Mesopotamia came to his relief. Then, at last, in the spring of 920 the Egyptian army marched against the invaders, and a series of engagements in the Fayyūm and at Alexandria, ended before the close of the year in the retreat of the Fātimids to Barbary.

The condition of the country after their expulsion was ⁹²⁰ chaotic. The eunuch Mūnis who, as commander of the troops from Baghdād, had been dictator of Egypt for some years, and had deposed and set up governors as he pleased, was at last recalled in 921; but the soldiery continued to dominate the government; disbanded troops harried the country and plundered and murdered the folk; and the disorder was so great that even Tekin, when appointed governor for the fourth time, because no one else could pacify the army, found it necessary for safety to quarter his troops in his own palace. Some degree of order was at length restored, but after his death, in March, 933, his son was hooted out of the country by the army, clamouring for arrears of pay; the treasurer Mādarānī was in hiding; rival governors contended for power, mustered their troops, and skirmished over the distracted country; and a fearful earthquake, which laid many houses and villages low, followed by a portentous shower of meteors, added to the terror of the populace.

In this desperate state of affairs the Ikhshid¹ took over ⁹³⁵ the government of Egypt in August, 935. It needed an exceptionally strong man to meet the emergency, and the Ikhshid proved himself equal to the position. Moḥammad b. Tughḡ came of a princely family in Ferghāna on the Iaxartes, who bore the title of Ikhshid in

¹ He was allowed to use the ancestral title by special permission of the caliph four years after his arrival in Egypt. His coinage, like that of the Tūlūnids, was almost all of gold, and was issued from the mints of Misr (i.e. Fustāt) in A.H. 328 (A.D. 939-40) and 333 (944-5); Fileṣṭīn (Ramla), 331, 332, 333; Damascus, 333, 334.

the same manner as the sovereigns of Persia and Ṭabaristān were styled Kisrā (Chosroes) and Ispehbedh. His grandfather G'uff was among the Turkish officers imported into 'Irāk by the caliph Mo'taṣim, son of Hārūn er-Rashīd; and his father, the emir Tughīq, had served with distinction in the armies of Khumāraweyh, fought against the Romans when commandant of Ṭarsūs, and had been rewarded with the government of Syria. The pride of success brought its punishment, and he ended his life in the prison of Damascus. His son Muḥammad, the future ruler of Egypt, who shared his captivity, obtained his own release, and, after various vicissitudes of fortune, took service under Tekin, was appointed to the command of the seditious district of the Hawf in Lower Egypt, and after holding various appointments in Syria, where he gained the high approval of the caliph, became governor of Damascus in 930. Three years later he was nominated by el-Kāhir to the charge of Egypt, but the state of Syria did not then permit his leaving, and though he was duly recognized as governor in the public prayers at Fustāt in 933, and sent a deputy to represent him, another governor temporarily filled his place until he came in person, on a second nomination by the caliph Rādi, in 935. The virtual ruler of Egypt, Mādarāni the treasurer, instigated the governor to resist the appointment, and to oppose the entrance of the Ikhshid. They were, however, completely routed at Faramā, and the fleet from Syria, sailing up the Nile from Tinnis to G'iza, commanded the capital until the Ikhshid brought his army up and took possession.

How largely the previous anarchy was due to the incapacity and jealousy of the governors and their officers is evident from the fact that during the eleven years of the Ikhshid's firm government we do not read of a single insurrection or disturbance. The army recognized its master, and his Syrian troops overawed whatever disaffection may have subsisted among the Egyptians. He was an energetic yet cautious general, and his immense strength—for no other man could stretch his bow—inspired respect. Yet he is said to

have gone in fear of his life, and to have taken extraordinary precautions against assassination. He preferred peace to war, and would conclude a treaty and submit to loss of territory, and even payment of tribute, sooner than continue a doubtful struggle. His powerful army of 400,000 men, of whom 8000 formed his bodyguard, not only prevented any serious attempt of the Fāṭimids to renew their invasions, after they were driven back from Alexandria in the first year of his reign, but also gave him weight in the scrimmage then surging round the tottering caliphate. The temporal sway of the "commander of the faithful" had by this time disappeared. The governors of the various provinces had acquired sovereign powers. The Buweyhids held Persia, the Sāmānids the lands beyond the Oxus, the Hamdānids Mesopotamia, and a number of ambitious Turkish emirs fought for the possession of Baghdād and the office of gaoler to the unhappy pontiff of Islām. The Ikhshid's efforts were chiefly directed towards preserving his Syrian province against the aggression of one or other of these turbulent neighbours. He first came in conflict with the emir Ibn-Rāīk, who without provocation seized Hims and occupied Damascus. After an Egyptian defeat, probably at el-'Arish on the frontier, and a sanguinary but indecisive battle at el-Lagğūn, twenty miles from Tiberias,⁹⁴⁰ peace was made on the terms that Ibn-Rāīk retained Syria north of Ramla and received a yearly tribute of 140,000*D.* from the Ikhshid. This understanding was partly due to the good feeling produced by the chivalry of the emir, who was so distressed to find the corpse of one of the Ikhshid's brothers among the slain at Lagğūn that he sent his own son to his adversary as an atonement, to be dealt with as he chose. Not to be outdone in generosity, the Ikhshid clothed the intended sacrifice in robes of honour and sent him back in all courtesy to his father. Of course the youth married the daughter of his chivalrous host, now joined in the friendly ties of treaty and alliance. The episode forms a pleasing contrast to the many barbarities of the age.

After Ibn-Rāīk's death, two years later, the Ikhshid

recovered Syria and re-entered Damascus without striking a blow. To Syria and Egypt the caliph el-Muttaṭī now added the governorship of the holy cities of Mekka and 943 Medina, and the hereditary principle was established



Fig. 17. Dinār of Mohammad el-Ikhshid, Palestine, 943.

when the Ikhshid made the captains and soldiers of his army do homage to his elder son as their future prince. Tossed between the powerful dynasty of the Ḥamdānids and the contending emirs Tūzūn and

el-Barīdī, the wretched caliph, driven out of Baghdād, turned for succour to the Ikhshid, who came north to recover Aleppo from an aggressive Ḥamdānid, and after settling his own affairs, had an interview with his spiritual suzerain on the Euphrates opposite Rakka, and pressed him to seek refuge with him in Syria or Egypt. The caliph, however, stood in too great terror of the other emirs to venture upon so critical a step, nor would he even accept an offer of troops, though he took a subsidy of gold, and a vast amount of money passed into the hands of all the court. He let his great vassal depart, after showing him exceptional and touching favour, and confirming the government of Egypt and Syria to him and his heir for a term of thirty years; and trusted himself to the sworn 944 honour of Tūzūn a month later, only to be treacherously blinded and deposed. The shrieks of the victim and his wives were drowned in a tattoo of drums and the acclamation of his successor.

The Ikhshid was still far from secure on his northern frontier. Aleppo was reoccupied by the Ḥamdānid leader, Seyf-ed-dawla, before the close of the year, and an army despatched from Egypt under the eunuchs Kāfür and Yānis was met at er-Rastan (Arethusa) on the Orontes, and routed with the loss of 4,000 prisoners, besides 943 killed and drowned. Seyf-ed dawla proceeded to annex

Damascus, and the Ikhshid was forced to march against him in person with a large army. They met near Kinnesrin. The Ikhshid placed his light troops, armed with short lances, in front, and kept a body of 10,000 chosen men, whom he called the "standfasts," in the rear. The light troops were quickly broken by the Hamdānid's attack, and the enemy, thinking the victory already won, fell to plundering the baggage: whereupon the Ikhshid flung his "standfasts" upon them with complete success and scattered them in all directions. The prince of Egypt re-entered Aleppo, and then Damascus, whence he negotiated a strangely unfavourable treaty with his vanquished enemy; he agreed to abandon Aleppo and northern Syria to the Hamdānid, and to pay him an annual tribute in return for the possession of Damascus. The explanation seems to be that the Ikhshid found the guardianship of northern Syria too troublesome a business at his age, for he was now sixty-four. He survived the campaign but a year, and died at Damascus in July, 946,⁹⁴⁶ and was buried at Jerusalem, where his successors also lie.

Of his government in Egypt little is recorded, and though like Ibn-Tūlūn, he was a builder, and set up a beautiful palace in the pleasure called the "Garden of Kāfür," which lay west of the present Sūk-en-Nahhāsin, no trace of his buildings remain. The historian Mas'ūdi, who visited Egypt during his reign, is more occupied with the pyramids and other wonders than with contemporary buildings or people. He gives no description of the palace or the court, or of its master, nor does he throw any light upon the condition of the inhabitants. He does, however, give some account of the system of irrigation, and describes the cutting of the canal dams on the 14th of September, and their closure (in the delta) in January. "The Night of the Bath (Leylat el-Ghaṭās)," he writes, "is one of the great ceremonies, and the people all go to it on foot on the 10th of January. I was present in 350 [942] when the Ikhshid Mohammad b. Tughq̄ lived in his house called el-Mukhtāra ('the elect') in the island that divides the Nile in two. He ordered

the bank of the island and the [opposite] bank of el-Fustāt to be illuminated each with a thousand torches, besides private illuminations. Muslims and Christians, by hundreds of thousands, crowded the Nile on boats, or in kiosks overlooking the river, or [standing] on the banks, all eager for pleasure, and vying in equipage, dress, gold and silver cups, and jewellery. The sound of music was heard all about, with singing and dancing. It was a splendid night, the best in all Mīṣr for beauty and gaiety; the doors of the separate quarters were left open, and most people bathed in the Nile, knowing well that [on that night] it is a sure preservative and cure for all disease."¹ He also states that the Ikhshid gave leave to people to dig for treasure, of which they said they had found clues in ancient manuscripts: but they discovered only caves and vaults full of statues, which were made of bones and dust—an early reference to mummies.² But if we know little of the internal affairs of Egypt under the Ikhshid, it is at least clear that he brought repose to the distracted country, and that he established for the first time an hereditary principality recognised by the caliph, and practically implying independence. The

tenure indeed was limited to thirty years, and confirmation by each successive caliph was a necessary and expensive formality, but in capable hands the virtual independence of his dynasty was assured.



Fig. 18. Dirhem of Abū-l-Kāsim b. el-Ikhshid, Damascus, 949.

Whether the Ikhshid's two sons Abū-l-Kāsim Üngür (946-961)³ and Abū-l-Hasan 'Ali (961-965), who nominally

¹ The 'Id-el-Maghtas or "feast of the tank" was really the Christian Epiphany, in memory of Christ's baptism (Abū-Şālib, p. 129, note). ² Ibid, ii. 419. ³ Mas'udi, *Muriq-edh-Dhabab*, ii. 364-5.

³ Coins bearing Abū-l-Kāsim's name were issued at Mīṣr in A.H. 335 (946-7), 337, 339, 341, 342; Filestīn, 335, 336, 337, 339, 341, 345,

succeeded,¹ were capable or not, they were allowed no opportunity of proving it. The elder was only fourteen at his father's death, and though the younger, 'Ali, had reached the age of twenty-three when his turn came to enjoy the name of governor, he was kept in the same state of pupilage as his brother by the black eunuch Kāfūr, who acted as regent of what may now almost be called the kingdom of Egypt. They were given a comfortable allowance of 400,000*D.*, and bidden to enjoy themselves and not meddle with affairs of state. They submitted with scarcely a struggle, enjoyed their harem or Korān, according to their tastes, and died in luxurious obscurity, when (965) their black tyrant ascended the throne, with the caliph's approval, as "master" (*ustād*) of Egypt and its dependencies.² Abū-l-Misk Kāfūr ("Musky Camphor") was an Abyssinian slave bought from an oilman for a matter of less than ten pounds by the Ikhshid, who discovering his merits made him governor to his two sons. The relation of tutor and ward lasted for their lives. Kāfūr was doubtless an excellent servant, though not always a successful general; but when in power he showed all the unbridled love of luxury and ease that marks the black in office. Few external difficulties troubled him; for after a campaign against the ever-encroaching Ḥamdānid, in which the Ikhshid's energetic brother Ḥasan, accompanied by Kāfūr, won two signal victories over Seyf-ed-dawla, near Laḡgun and on the Marg 'Adhrā by Damascus, and the Egyptian army entered Aleppo, peace was concluded on the same basis as in 945, except that the tribute then imposed was discontinued. The consent of the caliph (or his keeper) to the succession of the two young princes to the govern- 947

346, 347 (958-9); Damascus, 338 (949-50); Ḥims, 336; Tabariya (Tiberias) 337 (948-9).

¹ Coins bearing the name of 'Ali b. el-Ikhshid were issued at Mīṣr in A.H. 350, 351, 352, 353, 354 (961-5); Fileştin, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355; the last must have been struck within eleven days of his death on 11 Moharram, 355 (7 Feb. 965).

² No coins bear Kāfūr's name: his currency was in the name of the caliph alone.

ment of Egypt, Syria, and the holy cities, was easily obtained, and in the latter part of Kāfur's administration not only Damascus but the whole of Syria as far as Aleppo and Tarsūs was again incorporated under the rule of Egypt. Beyond some temporary disturbances at the Mekka pilgrimages in 953-5, and a raid of the Karmaṭīs upon Syria in 963, and their capture of the great Egyptian pilgrim caravan of 20,000 camels in 966, there was little trouble abroad; and in Egypt, in spite of a series of terrific

⁹⁵⁴ earthquakes, a great fire which destroyed 1700 houses in Fustāt, bad Niles, and much consequent scarcity and distress, the people seem to have remained strangely quiet. Even an irruption of the Nubians, who carried fire and sword, slaughter and famine through the Sa'īd in 963 did not stir up a revolt. The Ikhshid had got the Egyptians into order, and the big black eunuch "Camphor" evidently knew how to maintain it.

Kāfur was at once the Lucullus and the Maecenas of his age. He had contrived to acquire some cultivation,



Fig. 19.—Dinār of Abū-l-Kāsim b.
el-Ikhshid, Miṣr, 950.

as most clever slaves did, and he loved to surround himself with poets and critics, and listen to their discussions of an evening, or make them read him the history of the caliphs of old. Like all blacks he delighted in music. He had

control of vast sums of money, and he scattered it liberally among his literary friends, who repaid him in fulsome ⁹⁵⁷ verse. The celebrated poet el-Mutanebbī was among his intimates for a couple of years, and from his odes one gains such a picture of the "master" as an avowed panegyrist, who afterwards became a bitter satirist of his patron, may afford. When another poet explained in choice verse that the frequent earthquakes of the time were due to Egypt's dancing for joy at Kāfur's virtues, the pleased Ethiopian threw him a thousand dinārs. A sherif of the

family of the Prophet, who once picked up his riding-whip for him, found himself suddenly the owner of a baggage-train worth 15,000*D.* On his table, "Camphor" was lavish; he had the black's jolly sensuality. The daily provision for his kitchen consisted in 100 sheep, 100 lambs, 250 geese, 500 fowls, 1000 pigeons and other birds, and 100 jars of sweets. The daily consumption amounted to 1700 lb. of meat, besides fowls and sweets, and 50 skins of liquor were allowed to the servants alone. A favourite drink was quince-cider, for which the kādi of Asyūt sent 50,000 quince-apples every season.

On Kāfür's death in April, 968, after nineteen years of virtual and three of titular rule, the chief officers of the court immediately assembled to elect a prince, the minority agreeing to accept the choice of the majority. Such a proceeding was without a precedent in Egypt, and shows how the authority of the caliph—the nominal sovereign—was ignored. The choice fell upon a child of eleven, Abū-l-Fawāris Aḥmad, son of 'Ali b. el-Ikhshid,¹ who was forthwith acknowledged in the public prayers as ruler of Egypt, Syria, and the holy cities, with his second cousin, el-Hoseyn b. 'Obeydallāh b. Ṭughq, as next heir. Ibn-el-Furāt undertook the finances, and Samuel, the former director of the pigeon-post, ventured upon the war office. The extortions and niggardliness of the one, and the incompetence of the other, led to a military revolt, and Hoseyn assumed the regency.² It was not for long. The helpless condition of the government did not escape the shrewd observation of el-Mo'izz, the fourth Fātimid caliph of Barbary, and the ambition to be master of Egypt, which had only slumbered since the Ikhshid's accession, revived in fresh vigour. The inroads of the Karmatīs in Syria, and the distracted state of 'Irāk, precluded the fear of interference from the east, and the opportunity was not to be neglected. A little more than a year after Kāfür's death, the Fātimid army

¹ Coins of Aḥmad are dated A.H. 358 (968-9) at Miṣr and Fileṣṭīn.

² A coin with the name of el-Hoseyn b. 'Obeydallāh was issued in 358 at Fileṣṭīn (Ramla), of which he was governor (Lavoix, *Cat. Egypte*, 64).

969 entered Fusṭāṭ. With the fall of the last Ikhshid Egypt ceased for two centuries to be numbered among the provinces of the eastern orthodox caliphate.

Three hundred and thirty years had passed since the Saracens first invaded the valley of the Nile. The people, with traditional docility, had liberally adopted the religion of their rulers, and the Muslims now formed the great majority of the population. Arabs and natives had blended into much the same race that we now call Egyptians ; but so far the mixture had not produced any conspicuous men. The few commanding figures among the governors, Ibn-Tūlūn, the Ikhshid, Kāfūr, were foreigners, and even these were but a step above the stereotyped official. They essayed no great extension of their dominions ; they did not try to extinguish their dangerous neighbours the schismatic Fāṭimids ; and though they possessed and used fleets, they ventured upon no excursions against Europe. In material conditions it may be doubted whether the people gained anything by the Arab conquest. No doubt the old system of cultivation and irrigation went on, as it always has done ; but it owed little to the enterprise or public spirit of the rulers, who left the irrigation and agriculture to take care of themselves, and were chiefly concerned in drawing the revenue. The decrease in the land-tax recorded by Maḳrizi faithfully reflects the carelessness of the governors. Their public works were almost wholly confined to the capital, which they enlarged and adorned with palaces and other buildings, gardens, and meydāns, for their own pleasure. The luxury of such princes as Khumāraweyh must have benefitted the townspeople, for a time, at the expense of the country taxpayers. The courts of men like Ibn-Tūlūn and Kāfūr attracted men of learning and polite letters from other parts of the caliphate, and Misr was gradually acquiring a reputation as a centre of enlightenment. But so far it was much behind Baghdaḍ, Damascus, and Cordova ; the Azhar university was not yet founded, nor had the Muslims of Egypt yet produced a poet, historian, or critic of the first rank in Arabic literature. On the other hand, it must be remem-

bered that historiography and literary criticism were still in a very crude stage of development in all parts of the Mohammadan dominions ; the celebrated Tabari, a contemporary of Khumāraweyh, had not risen above the mere collecting of traditions, without attempting to co-ordinate or criticize them ; Mas'ūdi, who saw the Iklīshid, was chiefly a collector of anecdotes and curiosities of history ; and the poets or versifiers of the caliphate were essentially an artificial product of the court, whose talents were best remunerated at the richest capital, or wherever fools and their money were most readily parted. The genuine poetry of the desert was no longer a living inspiration, but a classical tradition. The literature of erudition and compilation was only beginning.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHI'A REVOLUTION

969

Authorities.—‘Arīb el-Kurtubī, Ibn-el-Athīr, Ibn-Khallikān, Ibn-Khaldūn, el-Makrizi. Quatremère, *Vie de Moëzz*; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimid. Chalifén*.

THE great revolution which sixty years before had swept over north Africa, and now spread to Egypt, arose out of the old controversy over the legitimacy of the caliphate. The prophet Muḥammad died without definitely naming a successor, and thereby bequeathed an interminable quarrel to his followers. The principle of election, thus introduced, raised the first three caliphs, Abū-Bekr, ‘Omar, ‘Othmān, to the cathedra at Medina; but a strong minority held that the “divine right” rested with ‘Alī, the “Lion of God,” first convert to Islām, husband of the prophet’s daughter Fāṭima, and father of Muḥammad’s only male descendants. When ‘Alī in turn became the fourth caliph, he was the mark for jealousy, intrigue, and at length assassination; his sons, the grandsons of the prophet, were excluded from the succession; his family were cruelly persecuted by their successful rivals, the Omayyad usurpers; and the tragedy of Kerbelā and the murder of Ḥoseyn set the seal of martyrdom on the holy family and stirred a passionate enthusiasm which still rouses intense excitement in the annual representations of the Persian Passion Play.

The rent thus opened in Islām was never closed, and to this day the hatred between Sunnis and Shi'a, between the Popular Choice and the Divine Right, is more bitter.

than between Protestant and Catholic in the days of persecution. The ostracism of 'Ali "laid the foundation of the grand incurable schism which has divided the Mohammanian church, and equally destroyed the practice of charity among the members of their common creed and endangered the speculative truths of doctrine. Abroad, it necessarily lamed the propagation of the faith by the evidence which it afforded the unbeliever of the diversity of opinion, strife, and reciprocal maledictions of its professors themselves. At home, it placed the caliphs in so false a position that they presented the extraordinary spectacle of sovereign pontiffs who rendered their unjust claim to the crown still more palpably indefensible by persecuting the descendants of the author of their faith and founder of their throne; and who, to fill up the measure of inconsistency, were obliged publicly to invoke every blessing on that family by whose exclusion alone they enjoyed the privilege of performing the *khuṭba*. Thus it alienated the hearts of a large portion of the people from their spiritual and temporal head; sowed the ineradicable seeds of sedition, conspiracy, and rebellion; placed the usurper on a tottering throne from which the rightful claimant might at any time hurl him; and left him to rule a divided people with a broken sceptre."¹

The history of the 'Alid schism, or of Shi'ism, may be read elsewhere;² here we can only take up the links that connect it with the conquest of Egypt by the Fātimids. The descendants of 'Ali, though almost universally devoid of the qualities of great leaders, possessed the persistence and devotion of martyrs, and their sufferings heightened the fanatical enthusiasm of their supporters. All attempts to recover the temporal power having proved vain, the 'Alids fell back upon the spiritual authority of the successive candidates of the holy family, whom they proclaimed to be the Imāms or spiritual leaders of the faithful. This doctrine of the Imāmate gradually acquired

¹ Nicholson, *Establ. of Fat. Dyn.*, 7, 8.

² See, for example, Dozy, *Hist. de l'Islamisme*, trans. Chauvin, ch. ix.

a more mystical meaning, supported by an allegorical interpretation of the Korân; and a mysterious influence was ascribed to the Imâm, who, though hidden from mortal eye, on account of the persecution of his enemies, would soon come forward publicly in the character of the ever-expected Mahdi, sweep away the corruptions of the heretical caliphate, and revive the majesty of the pure lineage of the prophet. All Mohammadans believe in a coming Mahdi, a Messiah who shall restore right and prepare for the second advent of Mohammad and the tribunal of the last day; but the Shi'a turned the expectation to special account. They taught that the true Imâm, though invisible to mortal sight, is ever living; they predicted the Mahdi's speedy appearance, and kept their adherents on the alert to take up arms in his service. With a view to his coming they organized a pervasive conspiracy, instituted a secret society with carefully graduated stages of initiation, used the doctrines of all religions and sects as weapons in the propaganda, and sent missionaries throughout the provinces of Islâm to increase the numbers of the initiates, and pave the way for the great revolution. We see their partial success in the ravages of the Carmathians, who were the true parents of the Fâtimids. The leaders and chief missionaries had really nothing in common with Mohammadanism. Among themselves they were frankly atheists. Their objects were political, and they used religion in any form, and adapted it in all modes, to secure proselytes, to whom they imparted only so much of their doctrine as they were able to bear. These men were furnished with "an armoury of proselytism" as perfect, perhaps, as any known to history: they had appeals to enthusiasm, and arguments for the reason, and "fuel for the fiercest passions of the people and times in which they moved." They combined indeed the intellectual dexterity and unscrupulousness ascribed to the Jesuit, with the talent for criminal organization of the Decisi. Their real aim was not religious or constructive, but pure nihilism. They used the claim of the family of 'Ali, not because they believed in any

divine right or any caliphate, but because some flag had to be flourished in order to rouse the people.

One of these missionaries, disguised as a merchant, journeyed back to Barbary in 893, with some Berber pilgrims who had performed the sacred ceremonies at Mekka. He was welcomed by the great tribe of the Kitāma, and rapidly acquired an extraordinary influence over the Berbers—a race prone to superstition, and easily impressed by the mysterious rites of initiation and the emotional doctrines of the propagandist, the wrongs of the prophetic house, and the approaching triumph of the Mahdi. Barbary had never been much attached to the caliphate, and for a century it had been practically independent under the Aghlabid dynasty, the barbarous excesses of whose later sovereigns had alienated their subjects. 'Alids, moreover, had established themselves, in the dynasty of the Idrisids, in Morocco since the end of the eighth century. The land was in every respect apt for revolution, and the success of Abu-'Abdallāh esh-Shi'i, the new missionary, was extraordinarily rapid. In a few years he had a following of 200,000 armed men, and after a series of battles he drove Ziyādat-Allāh, the last Aghlabid prince, out of the country in 908. The missionary then proclaimed the Imām 'Obeydallāh as the true caliph and spiritual head of Islām. Whether this 'Obeydallāh was really a descendant of 'Ali or not,¹ he had been carefully

¹ He was represented as the brother of the twelfth Imām, who mysteriously vanished at Samarrā; or as the son of one of the "hidden" Imāms, who (according to the Isnā'ilians) succeeded to the direction of the religion after the death of the seventh Imām. But there were at least eight different pedigrees provided for 'Obeydallāh, and this discrepancy among his own supporters is a strong argument against his pretended descent from 'Ali and the other Imāms, especially in view of the pride and care with which the Arabs preserved their genealogies. The opponents of the Fātimids (or 'Obeydids as they prefer to call them), on the other hand, asserted that 'Obeydallāh's real name was Sa'id; some said he was a Jew; and they traced his descent, or that of his adoptive father, to a Persian eye-doctor of dualistic views. Arab historians are sharply divided on this point, but their opinions are partly biased by religious and political influences. El-Maqrīzī and Ibn-Khaldūn are the most noted supporters of the

prepared for the rôle, and reached Barbary in disguise with the greatest mystery and some difficulty, pursued by the suspicions of the Baghdād caliph, who, in great alarm, sent repeated orders for his arrest. Indeed, the victorious missionary had to rescue his spiritual chief from a sordid prison at Sigilmāsa. Then humbly prostrating himself before him, he hailed him as the 910 expected Mahdi, and in January, 910, he was duly prayed for in the mosque of Kayrawān as "the Imām 'Obeydallāh el-Mahdi, commander of the faithful." The missionary's Berber proselytes were too numerous to encourage resistance, and the few who indulged the luxury of conscientious scruples were killed or imprisoned. El-Mahdi, indeed, appeared so secure in power that he excited the jealousy of his discoverer. Abū-'Abdallāh the missionary now found himself nobody, where a month before he had been supreme. The Fātimid restoration was to him only a means to an end ; he had used 'Obeydallāh's title as an engine of revolution, intending to proceed to the furthest lengths of his philosophy, to a complete social and political anarchy, the destruction of Islām, community of lands and women, and all the delight of unshackled licence. Instead of this, his creature had absorbed his power, and all such designs were void. He began to hatch treason and to hint doubts as to the genuineness of the Mahdi, who, as he truly represented, according to prophecy ought to work miracles and show other proofs of his divine mission. People began to ask for a "sign." In reply, the Mahdi had the missionary murdered.

911 The first Fātimid caliph, though without expérience, was so vigorous a ruler that he could dispense with the dangerous support of his discoverer. He held the throne for a quarter of a century and established his authority, more or less continuously, over the Arab and Berber tribes and settled cities from the frontier of Egypt to the

legitimacy of the Fātimid 'Obeydallāh, whilst G'emāl-ed-din of Aleppo, Ibn-Khallikān, el-Mekīn, Abū-l-Fidā, es-Suyūtī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, among others, regard him as an impostor. Of European scholars, de Sacy adopted the former, and Quatrenère the latter view.

province of Fez (Fās) in Morocco, received the allegiance of the Mohammadan governor of Sicily, and twice despatched expeditions into Egypt, which he would probably have permanently conquered if he had not been hampered by perpetual insurrections in Barbary. Distant governors, and often whole tribes of Berbers, were constantly in revolt, and the disastrous famine of 928-9, coupled with the Asiatic plague which his troops had brought back with them from Egypt, led to general disturbances and insurrections which fully occupied the later years of his reign. The western provinces, from Tāhart and Nakur to Fez and beyond, frequently threw off all show of allegiance. His authority was founded more on fear than on religious enthusiasm, though zeal for the 'Alid cause had its share in his original success. The new "Eastern doctrines," as they were called, were enforced at the sword's point, and frightful examples were made of those who ventured to tread in the old paths. Nor were the free-thinkers of the large towns, who shared the missionary's esoteric principles, encouraged; for outwardly, at least, the Mahdi was strictly a Muslim. When people at Kayrāwān began to put in practice the missionary's advanced theories, to scoff at all the rules of Islām, to indulge in free love, pig's flesh, and wine, they were sternly brought to order. The mysterious powers expected of a Mahdi were sedulously rumoured among the credulous Berbers, though no miracles were actually exhibited; and the obedience of the conquered provinces was secured by horrible outrages and atrocities, of which the terrified people dared not provoke a repetition at the hands of the Mahdi's savage generals.

His eldest son Abū-l-Kāsim, who had twice led expeditions into Egypt, succeeded to the caliphate with the title of el-Kāim (934-946.) He began his reign with warlike vigour. He sent out a fleet in 934 or 935, which harried the southern coast of France, blockaded and took Genoa, and coasted along Calabria, massacring and plundering, burning the shipping, and carrying off slaves wherever it touched. At the same time he despatched a third army against Egypt; but the

firm hand of the Ikhshid now held the government, and his brother 'Obeydallâh, with 15,000 horse, drove the enemy out of Alexandria and gave them a crushing defeat on their way home. But for the greater part of his reign el-Kâim was on the defensive, fighting for existence against the usurpation of one Abû-Yezid, who repudiated Shi'ism, cursed the Mahdi and his successor, stirred up most of Morocco and Barbary against el-Kâim, drove him out of his capital, and went near to putting an end to the Fâtimid caliphate. It was only after seven years of uninterrupted civil war that this formidable insurrection died out, under the firm but politic management of the third caliph, el-Mansûr (946-953), a brave man who knew both when to strike and when to be generous.⁹⁴⁷ Abû-Yezid was at last run to earth, and his body was skinned and stuffed with straw, and exposed in a cage with a couple of ludicrous apes as a warning to the disaffected.

The Fâtimids so far wear a brutal and barbarous character. They do not seem to have encouraged literature or learning; but this is partly explained by the fact that culture belonged chiefly to the orthodox caliphate, and its learned men could have no dealings with the heretical pretender. The city of Kayrawân, which dates from the Arab conquest in the eighth century, preserves the remains of some noble buildings, but of their other capitals or royal residences, el-Mahdiya (founded 913-918), el-Mohammadiya (924), and el-Manṣûriya (the ancient Šabra, restored and renamed in 948)—the last two being merely suburbs of Kayrawân—no traces of art or architecture remain to bear witness to the taste of their founders. Each began to decay as soon as its successor was built.

With the fourth caliph, however, el-Mo'izz,¹ the

¹ His full name and title was the Imâm Abû-Temîm Ma'add, el-Mo'izz-li-Allâh (fortifier of the religion of God). Coins of Mo'izz are fairly numerous, struck at el-Mahdiya and el-Manṣûriya, and Sicily; and, after the conquest, at Miṣr (Fustât) from A.H. 358 (969), Fileştin (Ramla) from 359, Tyre, 361, and Tripolis, 364 (974-5). A unique coin in the Khedivial Library at Cairo bears the usual inscriptions of

conqueror of Egypt (953-975), the Fātimids entered upon a new phase. He was a man of politic temper, a born statesman, able to grasp the conditions of success, and to take advantage of every point in his favour. He was also highly educated, and not only wrote Arabic poetry and delighted in its literature, but studied Greek, mastered Berber and Sūdāni dialects, and is even said to have taught himself Slavonic, in order to converse with his slaves from eastern Europe. His eloquence was such as to move his audience to tears. To prudent statesmanship he added a large generosity, and his love of justice was among his noblest qualities. So far as outward acts could show, he was a strict Muslim of the Shi'a sect, and the statement of his adversaries that he was really at heart an atheist seems to rest merely upon the belief that all the Fātimids adopted the esoteric doctrines of the Ismā'ilian missionaries.

When he ascended the throne in April, 953, he had already a policy, and he lost no time in carrying it into execution. He first made a progress through his dominions, visiting each town, investigating its needs, and providing for its peace and prosperity. He bearded the rebels in their mountain fastnesses, till they laid down their arms and fell at his feet. He conciliated the chiefs and governors with presents and appointments, and was rewarded by their loyalty. At the head of his ministers he set G'awhar "the Roman," a slave from the eastern empire, who had risen to the post of secretary to the late caliph, and was now by his son promoted to the rank of wezir and commander of the forces. He was sent in 958 to bring the ever-refractory Maghrib (Morocco) to allegiance. The expedition was entirely successful, Sigilmāsa and Fez were taken, and G'awhar reached the shore of the Atlantic. Jars of live fish and seaweed reached the capital, and proved to the caliph that his empire touched the ocean, the limitless limit of

Mo'izz and the date Miṣr, A.H. 341, the year of his accession. As there was no expedition into Egypt that year, this coin must either record a pretension—anticipating the conquest of Miṣr eighteen years later—or present an engraver's error.

the world. All the African littoral, from the Atlantic to the frontier of Egypt (with the single exception of Spanish Ceuta), now peaceably admitted the sway of the Fātimid caliph.

The result was due partly to the exhaustion caused by the long struggle during the preceding reigns, partly to the politic concessions and personal influence of the able young ruler. He was liberal and conciliatory towards distant provinces, but to the Arabs of the capital he was severe. Kayrawān teemed with disaffected folk, sheykhhs and theologians bitterly hostile to the heretical "orientalism" of the Fātimids, and always ready to excite a tumult. Mo'izz was resolved to give them no chance, and one of his repressive measures was the curfew. At sunset a trumpet sounded, and anyone found abroad after that was liable to lose not only his way but his head. So long as they were quiet, however, he used the people justly, and sought to impress them in his favour. In a singular interview (recorded by Maqrizi) he exhibited himself to a deputation of sheykhhs, dressed in the utmost simplicity, and seated before his writing materials in a plain room, surrounded by books. He wished to disabuse them of the idea that he led in private a life of luxury and self-indulgence: "You see what employs me when I am alone," he said; I read letters that come to me from the lands of the east and the west, and answer them with my own hand. I deny myself all the pleasures of the world, and I seek only to protect your lives, multiply your children, shame your rivals and daunt your enemies." Then he gave them much good advice, and especially recommended them to keep to one wife: "One woman is enough for one man. If you straitly observe what I have ordained," he concluded, "I trust that God will through you procure our conquest of the East in like manner as he has vouchsafed us the West."

[The conquest of Egypt was indeed the aim of his life.] To rule over tumultuous Arab and Berber tribes in a poor country formed no fit ambition for a man of his capacity. Egypt, its wealth, its commerce, its great port, and its docile population—these were his dream.

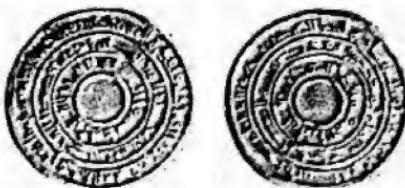
For two years he had been digging wells and building rest-houses on the road to Alexandria. The west was now outwardly quiet, and between Egypt and any hope of succour from the eastern caliphate stood the ravaging armies of the Karmatis. Egypt itself was in helpless disorder. The great Kāfūr was dead, and its nominal ruler was a child. Ibn-Furāt, the wezir, had made himself obnoxious to the people by arrests and extortions. The very soldiery was in revolt, and the Turkish retainers of the court mutinied, plundered the wezir's palace, and even opened negotiations with Mo'izz. Hoseyn, the nephew of the Ikhshid, attempted to restore public order, but after three months of vacillating and unpopular government he returned to his own province in Palestine to make terms with the Karmatis. Famine, the result of the exceptionally low Nile of 967, added to the misery of the country; plague, as usual, followed in the steps of famine; over six hundred thousand people died in and around Fusṭāt, and the wretched inhabitants began in despair to migrate to happier lands.

All these matters were fully reported to Mo'izz by the ⁹⁶⁸ renegade Jew Ya'kūb b. Killis, a former favourite of Kāfūr, who had been driven from Egypt by the jealous exactions of the wezir Ibn-Furāt, and who was perfectly

familiar with the political and financial state of the Nile valley. His representations confirmed the Fātimid caliph's resolve; the Arab tribes were summoned to his standard; an immense treasure was collected

Fig. 20.—Dinār of el-Mo'izz, Miṣr, 969.

ed—24,000,000*D.* in gold according to Maqrizi, all of which was spent in the campaign—gratuities were lavishly distributed to the army; and at the head of over 100,000 men, all well mounted and armed, accompanied by a thousand camels and a mob of horses carrying money,



stores, and ammunition, G'awhar marched from *Kayrawān* in February, 969. The caliph himself reviewed the troops. The marshal kissed his hand and his horse's shoe. All the princes, emirs, and courtiers passed reverently on foot before the honoured leader of the conquering army, who, as a last proof of favour, received the gift of his master's own robes and charger. The governors of all the towns on the route had orders to come on foot to G'awhar's stirrup, and one of them vainly offered a large bribe to be excused the indignity.

The approach of this overwhelming force filled the Egyptian ministers with consternation, and they thought only of obtaining favourable terms. A deputation of notables, headed by Abū-G'a'far Muslim, a sherif (or descendant of the Prophet's family), waited upon G'awhar near Alexandria, and demanded a capitulation. The general consented without reserve, and in a conciliatory letter granted all they asked. But they had reckoned without their host; the troops at Fustāt would not listen to such humiliation, and there was a strong war party among the citizens, to which some of the ministers leaned. The city prepared for resistance, and skirmishes took place with G'awhar's army, which had meanwhile arrived at the opposite town of G'iza in July. Forcing the passage of the river, with the help of some boats supplied by Egyptian soldiers, the invaders fell upon the opposing army drawn up on the other bank, and totally defeated them. The troops deserted Fustāt in a panic, and the women of the city, running out of their houses, implored the sherif to intercede with the conqueror. G'awhar, like his master, always disposed to a politic leniency, renewed his former promises, and granted a complete amnesty to all who submitted. The overjoyed populace cut off the heads of some of the refractory leaders in their enthusiasm, and sent them to the camp in pleasing token of allegiance. A herald bearing a white flag rode through the streets of Fustāt proclaiming the amnesty and forbidding pillage, and on August 5 the Fātimid army, with full pomp of drums and banners, entered the capital.

That very night G'awhar laid the foundations of a new ⁹⁶⁹ city, or rather fortified palace, destined for the reception of his sovereign. He was encamped on the sandy waste which stretched north-east of Fustāt on the road to Heliopolis, and there, at a distance of about a mile from the river, he marked out the boundaries of the new capital. There were no buildings, save the old "Convent of the Bones," nor any cultivation except the beautiful park called "Kāfūr's Garden," to obstruct his plans. A square, somewhat less than a mile each way, was pegged out with poles, and the Maghribi astrologers, in whom Mo'izz reposed extravagant faith, consulted together to determine the auspicious moment for the opening ceremony. Bells were hung on ropes from pole to pole, and at the signal of the sages their ringing was to announce the precise moment when the labourers were to turn the first sod. The calculations of the astrologers were, however, anticipated by a raven, who perched on one of the ropes and set the bells jingling, upon which every mattock was struck into the earth, and the trenches were opened. It was an unlucky hour : the planet Mars (el-Kāhir) was in the ascendant ; but it could not be undone, and the place was accordingly named after the hostile planet, el-Kāhira, "the martial" or "triumphant," in the hope that the sinister omen might be turned to a triumphant issue.¹ Cairo, as Kāhira has come to be called, may fairly be said to have outlived all astrological prejudices. The name of the 'Abbāsid caliph was at once expunged from the Friday prayers at the old mosque of 'Amr at Fustāt ; the black 'Abbāsid robes were proscribed, and the preacher, in pure white, recited the khutba for

¹ Makr, i. 384, adds that el-Kāhira was also named el-Mansūriya (probably after the city or suburb of Kayrawān built by the Fātimid el-Mansūr) : see Lane's *Cairo*, 236. The name of el-Kāhira appears first on a coin in A.H. 394 (1003-4), with the epithet *el-Mahrūsa*, "the guarded" ; but does not recur until more than a century later, A.H. 508-24, when it has the form *el-Mo'izzīya el-Kāhira*, "the triumphant city of Mo'izz." The rare occurrence of the name is explained by the mint of the metropolis being still worked, as before, at Fustāt. After the burning of Fustāt in 1168 and the accession of Saladin, the coinage regularly bears the name of el-Kāhira (Cairo).

the Imām Mo'izz, emir el-mu'minīn, and invoked blessings on his ancestors, 'Ali and Fātīma, and all their holy family. The call to prayer from the minarets was adapted to Shi'a taste. The joyful news was sent to the Fātimid caliph on swift dromedaries, together with the heads of the slain. Coins were struck with the special formulas of the Fātimid creed—"‘Ali is the noblest of [God's] delegates, the wezir of the best of apostles"; "the Imām Ma'add calls men to profess the unity of the Eternal"—in addition to the usual dogmas of the Mohammadan faith. For two centuries the mosques and the mint proclaimed the shibboleth of the Shi'a.

969 G'awhar set himself at once to restore tranquillity and alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Mo'izz had providently sent grain-ships to relieve their distress, and as the price of bread nevertheless remained at famine rates, G'awhar publicly flogged the millers, established a central corn-exchange, and compelled everyone to sell his corn there under the eye of a government inspector (*molitesib*). In spite of his efforts, the famine lasted for two years; plague spread alarmingly, insomuch that the corpses could not be buried fast enough, and were thrown into the Nile; and it was not till the winter of 971-2 that plenty returned and the pest disappeared. As usual, the viceroy took a personal part in all public functions. Every Saturday he sat in court, assisted by the wezir, Ibn-Furāt, the *kādī*, and skilled lawyers, to hear causes and petitions, and to administer justice. To secure impartiality, he appointed to every department of state an Egyptian and a Maghrabi officer. His firm and equitable rule ensured peace and order; and the great palace he was building, and the new mosque, the Azhar, which he founded in 970 and finished in 972, not only added to the beauty of the capital, but gave employment to innumerable craftsmen.

The inhabitants of Egypt accepted the new *régime* with their habitual phlegm. An Ikhshidi officer in the Bashmūr district of Lower Egypt did, indeed, incite the people to rebellion, but his fate was not such as to encourage others. He was chased out of Egypt, captured on the

coast of Palestine, and then, it is gravely recorded, he was given sesame oil to drink for a month, till his skin stripped off, whereupon it was stuffed with straw, and hung up on a beam, as a reminder to him who would be admonished. With this brief exception we read of no riots, no sectarian risings, and the general surrender was complete when the remaining partisans of the deposed dynasty, to the number of 5000, laid down their arms. An embassy sent to George, king of Nubia, to invite him to embrace Islām, and to exact the customary tribute, was received with courtesy, and the money, but not the conversion, was arranged. The holy cities of Mekka and Medina in the Hīgāz, where the gold of Mo'izz had been prudently distributed some years before, responded to his generosity and success by proclaiming his supremacy in the mosques; the Hamdānid prince who held northern Syria paid similar homage to the Fātimid caliph at Aleppo, where the 'Abbāsids had hitherto been recognized. Southern Syria, however, which had formed part of the Ikhshid's kingdom, did not submit to the usurpers without a struggle. Hoseyn was still independent at Ramla, and G'a'whar's lieutenant, G'a'far b. Fellāh, was obliged to give him battle. Hoseyn was defeated and exposed bareheaded to the insults of the mob at Fustāt, to be finally sent, with the rest of the family of Ikhshid, to a Barbary gaol. Damascus, the home of orthodoxy, was taken by G'a'far, not without a struggle, and the Fātimid doctrine was there published, to the indignation and disgust of the Sunni population.

A worse plague than the Fātimid conquest soon afflicted Syria. The Karmāti leader, Hasan b. Ahmad, surnamed el-A'sam, finding the blackmail, which he had lately received out of the revenues of Damascus, suddenly stopped, resolved to extort it by force of arms. The Fātimids indeed sprang from the same movement, and their founder professed the same political and irreligious philosophy as Hasan himself; but this did not stand in his way, and his knowledge of their origin made him the less disposed to render homage to the sacred pretensions of the new Imāms, whom he contemptuously designated

as the spawn of the quack, charlatans, and enemies of Islām. He tried to enlist the support of the 'Abbāsid caliph, but el-Muṭī' replied that Fātimis and Kārmātīs were all one to him, and he would have nothing to do with either. The Buweyhid prince of 'Irāk, however, supplied Hasan with arms and money; Abū-Tagħlib, the Hamdānid ruler of Rahba on the Euphrates, contributed men; and, supported by the Arab tribes of 'Okeyl, Ṭyy, and others, Hasan marched upon Damascus, where the Fātimids were routed, and their general, G'a'far, killed. Mo'izz was forthwith publicly cursed from the pulpit in the Syrian capital, to the qualified satisfaction of the inhabitants, who had to pay handsomely for the pleasure.

Hasan next marched to Ramla, and thence, leaving the Fātimid army of 11,000 men shut up in Jaffa, invaded Egypt. His troops surprised Ku'lzum at the head of the Red Sea, and Faramā (Pelusium) near the Mediterranean, at the two ends of the Egyptian frontier; Tinnis declared against the Fātimids, and Hasan appeared at Heliopolis ('Ain Shems) in October, 971. G'awhar had already entrenched the new capital with a deep ditch, leaving but one entrance, which he closed with an iron gate. He armed the Egyptians, as well as the African troops, and a spy was set to watch the wezir Ibn-Furāt, lest he should indulge in treachery. The sherifs of the family of 'Ali were summoned to the camp, as hostages for the good behaviour of the inhabitants. Meanwhile, the officers of the enemy were liberally tempted with bribes. Two months they lay before Cairo, and then, after an indecisive engagement,

Hasan stormed the gate, forced his way across the ditch, and attacked the Egyptians on their own ground. The result was a severe repulse, and Hasan retreated under cover of night to Kulzum,



Fig. 21.—½-Dinār of el-Mo'izz,
Palestine, 974.

leaving his camp and baggage to be plundered by the Fātimids, who were only baulked of a sanguinary pursuit

by the intervention of night. The Egyptian volunteers displayed unexpected valour in the fight, and many of the partisans of the late dynasty, who were with the enemy, were made prisoners. Thus the serious danger, which went near to cutting short the Fātimid occupation of Egypt, was not only resolutely met, but even turned into an advantage. There was no more intriguing on behalf of the Ikhshidids, Tinnis was recovered from its temporary defection and occupied by the reinforcements which Mo'izz had hurriedly despatched under Ibn-'Ammār to the succour of G'awhar; and the Karmati fleet, which attempted to recover this fort, was obliged to slip anchor, abandoning seven ships and 500 prisoners. Jaffa, which still held out resolutely against the besieging Arabs, was now relieved by the despatch of African troops from Cairo, who brought back the garrison, but did not dare to hold the post. The enemy fell back upon Damascus, and their leaders fell out among themselves.

The Karmati chief was not crushed, however, by his defeat: in the following year he was collecting ships and Arabs for a fresh invasion. G'awhar, who had long urged his master to come and protect his conquest, now pointed out the extreme danger of a second attack from an enemy which had already succeeded in boldly forcing his way to the gate of Cairo. Mo'izz had delayed his journey, because he could not safely trust his western provinces in his absence; but on the receipt of this grave news, he appointed Yūsuf Bulugin b. Zeyrī, of the Berber tribe of Sanhāga, to act as his deputy in Barbary, left Sardāniya—the Fontainebleau of Kāyrawān, as Mānsūriya was its Versailles—in November, 972, and making a leisurely progress, by way of Kābis, Tripolis, Agdābiya, and Barkā, reached Alexandria in the following May. Here the caliph received a deputation, consisting of the kādi of Fusṭāṭ and other eminent persons, whom he moved to tears by his eloquent and virtuous discourse. A month later he was encamped in the gardens of the monastery near G'iza, where he was reverently welcomed by his

devoted servant, G'awhar, content to efface himself in his master's shadow.¹

The entry of the new caliph into his new capital was a solemn spectacle. With him were all his sons and brothers and kinsfolk, and before him were borne the coffins of his ancestors. Fustāt was illuminated and decked for his reception; but Mo'izz would not enter the old capital of the usurping caliphs. He crossed from Rōda by G'awhar's new bridge, and proceeded direct to the palace-city of Cairo. Here he threw himself on his face and gave thanks to God.

There was yet an ordeal to be gone through before he could regard himself as safe. Egypt was the home of many undoubted sherifs or descendants of 'Ali, and these, headed by a representative of the distinguished Tabātabā family, came boldly to examine his credentials. Mo'izz must prove his title to the holy Imāmate inherited from 'Ali, to the satisfaction of these experts in genealogy. According to the story, the caliph called a great assembly of the people, and invited the sherifs to appear: then half drawing his sword, he said, "Here is my pedigree," and scattering gold among the spectators, added, "and there is my proof." It was perhaps the best argument he could produce. The sherifs could only protest their entire satisfaction at this convincing evidence; and it is at any rate certain that, whatever they thought of the caliph's claim, they did not contest it. The capital was placarded with his name and the praises of 'Ali, and Mo'izz was acclaimed by the people, who flocked to his first public audience. Among the presents offered him, that of G'awhar was especially splendid, and its costliness prepares one for the coming records of the colossal wealth of the Fāṭimids. It included 500 horses with saddles and bridles encrusted with gold, amber, and precious stones;

¹ G'awhar appears to have taken no conspicuous part in the government or campaigns after the arrival of Mo'izz, and in Oct., 974, he was deprived of all his appointments. No quarrel is recorded, but Mo'izz probably felt that even perfect loyalty may not always counterbalance a dangerous popularity. We hear of the great ḫāid (general) again in the next reign.

tents of silk and cloth of gold, borne on Bactrian camels ; dromedaries, mules, and camels of burden ; filigree coffers full of gold and silver vessels ; gold-mounted swords ; caskets of chased silver containing precious stones ; a turban set with jewels, and 900 boxes filled with samples of all the goods that Egypt produced.

On the day of the 'Id, or festival after the fast (the 973 Turkish Bairam), the caliph himself performed the prayers at the head of the congregation of the people, and then delivered the *khuṭba* from the pulpit. He valued himself on his sacerdotal talents, and his unction on this occasion touched all hearts. When the ceremony was over, Mo'izz returned to the palace at the head of his troops, escorted by his four sons in armour, preceded by two elephants, and gave a banquet to his guests. This palace, almost a city, the nucleus of the modern Cairo, was built, as we have seen, at some little distance from the old capital Fustāt, and, though sometimes called *el-Medīna*, 'the city,' was really an immense royal castle, reserved exclusively for the use of the caliph and his multitudinous ḥarim and household, his guard, his choice regiments, and his government officers. The broad enclosure of the castle was forbidden ground to the public, and even ambassadors from foreign powers—the eastern emperor had sent envoys to G'awhar and also to Mo'izz—were required to dismount outside and were led into the presence between guards in the same manner as at the Byzantine and Ottoman courts. "The chief buildings were the Great East Palace (or Palace of Mo'izz), the caliph's personal residence, where he kept his women, children, slaves, eunuchs, and servants, estimated at from eighteen to thirty thousand in number ; and the Lesser West Palace, or pleasure-house, which opened on the spacious garden of Kāfir, where a meydān or hippodrome provided exercise for the court. The two were separated by the square called 'Betwixt the Palaces' (Beyn-el-Kaṣreyn), where as many as ten thousand troops could parade ; the name is still preserved in part of the Sūk-en-Nahḥāsin or Coppersmiths' Market.

An underground passage connected the two palaces, by which the caliph could pass without violating that mysterious seclusion which was part of his sacred character. Hard by were the mausoleum where lay the

bones of his Fātimid ancestors, brought from far Kayravān, and the mosque, el - Azhar, where the caliph was wont to lead the Friday prayers as Prince and Precentor of the Faithful.

"Of the size and splendour of the Great Palace the Arabic historians speak with bated breath. We read of four thousand chambers;—of the Golden Gate which opened to the Golden Hall, a gorgeous pavilion where the caliph, seated on his golden throne, surrounded by his chamberlains and gentlemen in waiting (generally Greeks or Sūdānis), surveyed from behind a screen of golden filigree the festivals of Islām;—of the Emerald Hall with its beautiful pillars of marble;—the Great Divan, where he sat on Mondays and Thursdays at a window beneath a cupola;—and the Porch where he listened every evening while the oppressed and



Fig. 22.—Door of el-Aznar mosque, 972.

wronged came below and cried the *credo* of the Shi'a till he heard their griefs and gave redress."¹

This description applies to the Fātimid Palace of later times, but it is true in the main of the Kāhira of Mo'izz. The buildings had all been planned by himself, to the smallest detail, and G'awhar had laboured for more than three years to realize his sovereign's designs. The profusion of wealth and costly magnificence of the court may be gathered from many indications. One of the daughters of Mo'izz left at her death five sacks of emeralds and a prodigious amount of precious stones of all sorts, 3,000 chased and inlaid silver vessels, 30,000 pieces of Sicilian embroidery, and 90 basins and ewers of pure crystal : forty pounds of wax were used in sealing her rooms and chests. Another daughter died worth 2,700,000*D.*, and left 12,000 different dresses. His wife built a mosque in the Kerāfa, and lavished large sums on its decoration : a Persian architect designed it, and artists from Başra painted the ceilings and walls. Mo'izz himself commanded a piece of silk to be made at Tustar in Persia, representing in gold and colours a map of the world, which cost him 22,000*D.* If the Fātimid heresy discouraged learning and literature, it stimulated art ; and the prejudice against the representation of living things, which cramped orthodox painters, did not influence the work of the schismatics, who readily adopted Persian ideas. The Fātimid wezir el-Yāzuri (see p. 142) pitted two painters of 'Irāk against each other : one, el-Kasir, painted a dancing girl in white dress, who seemed to retreat within a black arch, and his rival Ibn-'Aziz made his girl in crimson appear to come out of the yellow arch behind her.² Such a design would not have been tolerated by an 'Abbāsid caliph. There is no doubt that great artistic activity prevailed under the Fātimid rule, which was developed in Sicily as well as in Egypt. The famous Bayeux ivory casket, with its chased silver inlay repre-

¹ Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, 112-114.

² Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*. Cp. Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 9, 10, 163, 201, 241.

scating parrots and other birds, has a Fātimid inscription, and an ivory box dated 970, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is probably due to their workmen. A rock crystal vase in the treasury of St. Mark at Venice bears the name of el-Aziz, the son of Mo'izz. Pottery, with metallic lustre, and glass, were worked, and the looms of Egypt were renowned. Alexandria and Cairo manufactured silks so fine that a whole robe could be passed through a finger ring; Asyūt was famous for its woollen turban cloth, Behnesa for white woollens, Debik for silks, Damietta, of course, for dimity; and at Tinnis, where the products of the royal factory were wholly reserved for the Fātimid household, they made besides cambric the beautiful iridescent stuff called *Būkalamān*, or "chameleon," used for royal saddle cloths and litters. Besides native manufactures, the artistic work of Persia, Asia Minor, and Sicily was in high demand in Cairo.

Mo'izz, however, was no sybarite, and he combined with a love of beautiful things a watchful alertness to the preservation and development of his power. He had inherited a fleet in Sicily, which raided the coast of Spain in 955 and brought away booty and prisoners. The caliph of Cordova, the great Nāṣir, retorted by sending his ships to Tunis, where they had burnt a small port near Bona and ravaged the Barbary coast. The possession of the Egyptian harbours led to larger naval plans. A dock was built at Māks, the predecessor of Bulāk as port of Cairo, and six hundred ships were built there—the largest fleet Egypt had seen since the Arab conquest.¹ The army was carefully maintained in a high state of efficiency, nor did the caliph neglect any means to win the esteem of his new subjects. His tribunals were renowned for equity, he took a personal interest in all details of administration, proclaimed the height of the inundation as registered in the Nilometers, presided over the cutting of the Cairo khāqānī or canal, and delighted the people by the splendid gold embroidered silk covering (*shemsīya*) which he

¹ See below, p. 121, note.

prepared for the Ka'ba at Mekka, and which all the world was admitted to see on the Feast of Sacrifice. It was four times as big as any cover ordered by the 'Abbāsids, or even by Kāsfūr. Evidently, the people thought, this caliph was a model of magnificent piety.

Meanwhile the threatened invasion of the Karmatiṣ still lingered. They had made an attempt upon Tinnīs, which failed, but no further movements had taken place. Mo'izz endeavoured to negotiate with their chief, but in reply to a conciliatory epistle Ḥasan merely wrote :— “From Ḥasan b. Aḥmad el-A'sam. I have received thy letter, full of words, but empty of sense. I will bring my answer.” He was as good as his word, and in the spring of 974 the Karmatiṣ appeared again at ⁹⁷⁴ Heliopolis, and then, joined by partisans of the Ikhshidids and by rival 'Alids, spread over all parts of Egypt in a wave of devastation. Mo'izz was prepared for them, but his forces were unequal to the defence. His son 'Abdallāh with 4,000 men had some successful engagements with scattered bodies of the enemy in the delta, but could not prevent the main body closing upon Cairo, where they drove the defenders over the trench into “the city.” Pent up within the walls, the caliph's troops were unable to make head against the Arabs, until Mo'izz contrived to bribe the chief of the Benū-Tayy, the strongest ally of the Karmatiṣ, with 100,000 *D.*, manufactured for the purpose of lead, gilt, since there was not enough gold in the treasury. The treacherous Bedawi deserted his leader in the next battle ; Hasan was forced to fly, his camp was taken and plundered, and 1500 of his camp followers were massacred. Ten thousand men were soon despatched into Syria, where the Karmatiṣ were fortunately weakened by the jealousies of their two leaders, one of whom delivered the other into the hands of the Fātimid, who put him and his son in wooden cages and sent them to Egypt. The Karmati plague was stayed, but Damascus was a prey to faction and disorder for some years. The eunuch Rayān, who had conquered Tripolis from the Romans for Mo'izz, and ⁹⁷⁵ was now sent to Damascus, was unable to hold the city

against the Turkish emir Aftegin, who restored the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph, and gave the Syrian capital and the surrounding province some measure of peace and good government. Meanwhile another eunuch had taken Beyrūt with the Fātimid troops, and this loss brought Tzimisces to Syria. Aftegin at once paid him homage and made a treaty ; but Rayān sallied out of Tripolis and administered a crushing defeat, and the Roman retreated.

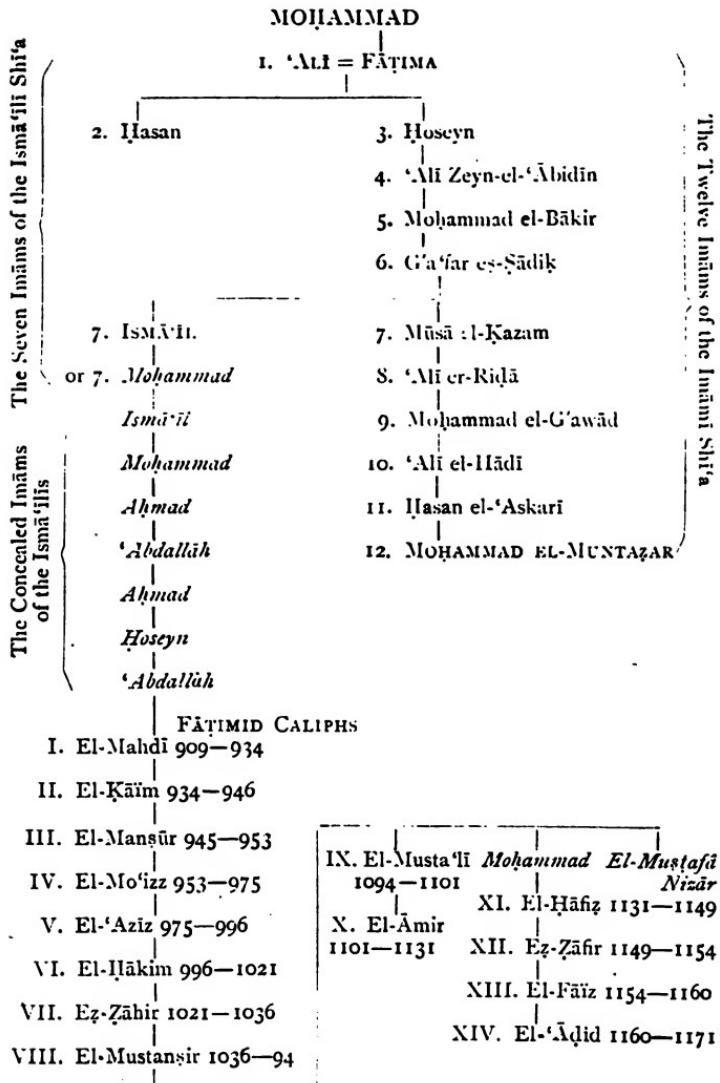
⁹⁷³ The news of this victory and the tidings that his name was again recited in the prayers at Mekka and Medina lightened the last days of the caliph Mo'izz, who died about Christmas, 975, in his forty-sixth year.¹ His two years' residence at Cairo had been marked by many reforms. He had appointed the Jew Ibn-Killis and 'Aslug as general land administrators, and abolished at one stroke the petty powers and profits of the collectors and farmers of the taxes. These two officers sat daily in the office of the emirate, adjoining the mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn, fixing the tithes and assessments of lands, and superintending the taxes, customs, tithes, poll-tax, wakfs, and all branches of revenue ; calling up arrears, and examining scrupulously all complaints and demands. The result was a large increase in revenue. All taxes had to be paid in the current Fātimid coinage, and the Mo'izzi dinār, reckoned at $15\frac{1}{2}$ dirhems, completely ousted the 'Abbāsid dinār of the Ikhshidids, to the considerable loss of the inhabitants. The taxes moreover were collected rigorously, for Mo'izz was eager to recover the immense sum he had spent on the conquest of Egypt, which so far had not answered his expectations of a gold-mine. Nevertheless, in a single day the taxes at Fustāt amounted to 50,000*D.*, and sometimes as much as 120,000*D.* ; and once Tinnis, Damietta, and Ushmuneyn contributed 200,000 *D.* in a day.

In his brief management of his mixed subjects in Egypt Mo'izz displayed judgment and justice. He forbade his

¹ His eldest son 'Abdallāh predeceased him by about a year, but three sons, Nizār, Temim, and 'Okeyl, with seven daughters, survived.

African troops to interfere with the residents in the capital, and settled them at el-Khandâk, near Heliopolis, to prevent broils. They could not be kept out of Fustât by day, but every evening a crier went round to warn them to leave the city before dark. To the Copts Mo'izz was not ill-disposed, and one of them was appointed to the head of the customs, first in Egypt and afterwards in Palestine, and was held in high favour by the caliph. Indeed the only sectarian trouble he had was of his own importing. The Shi'a were naturally much set up by the Fâtimid successes, and they celebrated the martyrdom of Hoseyn on the 10th of Moharram—a day dreaded by the police even now in Bombay—with unwonted publicity at Cairo in 973, visited the tombs of the lady Nefisa and Kulthûm, of the holy family, in vast crowds, and insulted the Sunni shop-people in the exuberance of their zeal. Street fights were prevented by the timely closing of the gates which separated the various quarters. The incident shows that the Shi'a revolution was still resented by a considerable section of the population, and we shall see that even two centuries later the restoration of orthodoxy was effected with surprising unanimity.

THE ALLEGED DESCENT OF THE FĀTIMID CALIPHS FROM THE
PROPHET MOHAMMAD



CHAPTER V

THE FĀTIMID CALIPHS

Authorities.—*Ḡemāl-ed-din el-Halabī*, *Abū-Śāliḥ*, *Ibn-el-Athīr*, *Ibn-Khallikān*, *Ibn-Khaldūn*, *el-Kalḳashandī*, *el-Makrizī*; *Wüstenfeld*, *Gesch. d. Fātimiden Chal.*, *Quatremère*, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, ii.

Monuments.—Mosques, *el-Azhar* (970–2), *Hākim* (990–1003), and *Ḡuyūshī* (1085); second wall of Cairo (1087), and three gates of *Nasr*, *Futūḥ* (1087), and *Zawila* (1091); mosques, *el-Ākmar* (1125), *el-Fakahānī* (1148, but restored), *es-Śāliḥ ibn Ruzzik* (1160).

Inscriptions.—Founder's inscr. in Azhar, *Hākim* (disappeared, but recorded by Hammer, *Journ. As.*, III., v. 388), on *Bāb-en-Naṣr*, second wall of Cairo, chapel of Sitta Nefisa, Nilometer, mosque of *Ibn-Tūlūn* (restoration inscr.), rock at *Rabwa*, near Damascus. (Van Berchem, *Notes*, *Journ. As.*, 1891, and *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*; Kay, *J.R.A.S.*, n.s., xviii.)

Coins.—Mints, in Egypt: *Misr* (*Fustāṭ*), *el-Kāhira* (Cairo, 1003–4, 1114 ff.), *Alexandria*, *Kūs* (1123–4); in Africa (*Tunisia*), *el-Mansūriya*, *el-Mahdiya* (to 1064); *Zawila*; *Sicily* (to 1054); *Mekka* (976–7), *Medina* (1061), in *Syria*, *Filestīn* (*Ramla*), *Damascus* (to 1067), *'Akka*, *Ascalon*, *Tiberias*, *Tripolis*, *Tyre*, *Aleppo* (1050–5).

Glass Weights.—These bear the names of all the caliphs, and sometimes dates, and are very numerous (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Ar. IVts.*, Casanova, *Coll. Fonquet*).

THE Fātimid rule established in Egypt by Mo'izz subsisted 973 for two centuries by no merits of the rulers nor any devotion of their subjects. Most of the caliphs were absorbed in their own pleasures, and the government dévolved on wezirs, who were frequently changed in accordance with their sovereigns' or the army's constant demand for more money and the ministers' success or failure in satisfying it. Most of the wezirs were bent mainly on money-getting. No great ideas, no ambitious schemes found a place in their policy. The empire, which in the days of Mo'izz included the whole of north Africa, Sicily, Syria, and the Higāz, soon sank to little

more than Egypt proper. The African provinces, from mere tributary connexion, passed in 1046 to frank independence, and reverted to their old allegiance (however nominal) to the caliphs of Baghdād. Syria was always loosely held, and was the scene of frequent rebellions and civil wars.¹ In Arabia alone the Fātimids acquired an increased influence, not by any effort of their own, but by the Shi'a propaganda which went on independently of their leading. In Egypt itself their power rested upon no equitable basis, nor upon any general adhesion to the Shi'a doctrines or their disputed pedigree, which was repeatedly refuted by Shi'a and Sunni theologians;² their throne was founded upon fear, and subsisted by the terror of their foreign legions. The Berber troops, constantly recruited from their birthplace in the west, the Turkish mercenaries, renewed by purchase or volunteering from the east, the bloody and sensual Sūdānis from the south, these were the bulwarks of the Egyptian caliphate and the sole cause of its longevity. Yet even in face of such a military tyranny, it may be questioned whether any people but the patient Egyptians would have submitted so long to an intolerable yoke.

The beginning, it is true, of this long oppression gave no promise of its coming burden. El-'Aziz,³ the son of Mo'izz (975—996), who succeeded his father in Decem-

¹ The vicissitudes of the Fātimid rule in Syria are reserved for the next chapter.

² There were at least three formal repudiations of their pretended descent from the Prophet, drawn up at Baghdād, signed by celebrated doctors of the law of all schools, and circulated in Syria, and even communicated to the Fātimid caliphs themselves.

³ Full name and title: el-Imām Niṣār Abū-Mansūr el-'Azīz bi-llāh ("the mighty through God") emīr-el-mu'minīn (commander of the faithful). His coins were issued at Miṣr (Fustāt) A.H. 365 (976)—386 (996); Filestīn (Ramla) 364—383; el-Mahdiya, 370—384, and el-Mansūriya, in Africa, 367—386; Sicily, 366—377; Tripolis, in Syria, 374, and Mekka, 366. The Miṣr coinage is continuous every year, but the coinage at the other mints seems to have been issued at irregular intervals when required. The same remark applies to later Fātimid issues. The coinage that has come down to us is almost entirely of gold, but the silver currency, though nearly destroyed, must have been very large.

ber, 975, but was not formally proclaimed till the Feast ⁹⁷⁶ of Sacrifice in August, 976, was an excellent ruler. Big, brave, and comely in person—though with reddish hair and blue eyes, always feared by Arabs—a bold hunter and a fearless general, he was of a humane and conciliatory disposition, loth to take offence, and averse from

bloodshed. The tendency of the Fātimid creed (or policy) was towards toleration or indifference in regard to religion and race; but in the case of 'Aziz a special influence was exerted by a Christian wife, the mother, strange to



Fig. 23.—Dinār of el-'Azīz. Miṣr, 976.

say, of the monster Hākim. Her two brothers were appointed Melekite patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, by the caliph's express though irregular command, and the Christians never enjoyed so much toleration as under his rule. The Coptic patriarch Ephraim stood in high favour at his court, and obtained leave to rebuild the ruined church of Abū-s-Seyfeyn (St. Mercurius) outside Fusṭāṭ, and the opposition of the Muslims, who had turned it into a sugar warehouse, was summarily suppressed by the caliph.¹ With the catholicity or speculative curiosity characteristic of the Fātimids, 'Aziz encouraged Severus, the bishop of Ushmuneyn, to discuss points of doctrine with the Muslim divines, such as the famous Ḥāfiẓ Ibn-en-No'mān, president of the prayers and director of the mint and of weights and measures for fourteen years; and the caliph even refused to persecute a Muslim who turned Christian, though apostasy was punishable by death. His generosity extended to his enemies; he knew how to respect a brave man, and when the gallant Turkish

¹ Abū-Ṣāliḥ, ff. 34b—36.

leader Aftegin, who had raised all Syria against him and even out-generalled the veteran G'awhar, was betrayed into his hands, the caliph gave him a high post at court and loaded him with rewards for his valour in the field.

For the first fifteen years of his reign the caliph's chief minister or wezir was the converted Jew, Ibn-Killis, who had served Mo'izz well and became the right hand of his son. It was largely due to this man's prudent statesmanship that Egypt enjoyed a long period of perfect tranquillity, and that the treasury overflowed with wealth. Another high official, who also became wezir for the last two years of the reign, was the Christian 'Isā b. Nestorius; and a Jew, Manasseh, was at one time chief secretary in Syria. These appointments naturally gave offence to the Muslims, who found themselves in the odd situation of being worse off under a Mohammadan sovereign than were the "infidels." Poets wrote sarcastic verses, and remonstrances were thrust into the caliph's hands as he rode through the streets. He attempted to pacify his too zealous subjects by removing the obnoxious officials from their posts ; but in the case of Ibn-Nestorius, at least, harim influence was too strong, and the caliph's beloved and capable daughter, the Princess Royal (Seyyidet-el-mulk), obtained the Christian's restitution. In truth, 'Aziz could not do without the help of these able servants, who were evidently superior to their Muslim colleagues in business capacity. When Ibn-

⁹⁸² Killis was thrown into prison for poisoning, out of mere jealousy, the Turkish favourite Aftegin, his master missed his counsels so much that in forty days he was restored to office. A similar degradation of the same wezir in the following year (983) was followed by an almost equally speedy restoration. Firm and just administration, backed by a powerful army, no doubt reconciled the Muslim population in some degree to what they regarded as an unnatural preference ; but their dissatisfaction was always ready to break into active hostility on provocation. During the war with the emperor Basil in 996, for which 'Aziz had built a fine fleet of 600 sail, eleven of his largest vessels lying in the harbour of Maḳs on the

Nile (then the port of Cairo), were set on fire, and the sailors and mob, ascribing the disaster to the Greek inhabitants of the neighbourhood, massacred many of them, plundered their goods, and played ball with their heads. Order was promptly restored, however, and in three months the energy of Ibn-Nestorius produced six new vessels of the first class.¹

Able as these ministers were, they shared with their master an inordinate love of wealth and luxury. Ibn-Killis, who died in 991, enjoyed a salary of 100,000 *D.*,⁹⁹¹ and left a princely fortune in lands, houses, shops, slaves, horses, furniture, robes, and jewels, valued at four million dinārs, besides his daughter's dowry of 200,000 *D.* He kept 800 harim women, besides servants, and his body-guard consisted of 4000 young men, white and black. His house, the " Palace of the Wezirs" was fortified and isolated like a castle. His choice carrier pigeons outstripped the caliph's own. 'Aziz himself attended his funeral (which was as sumptuous as his daily life), and supplied the embalming materials, camphor and musk, and rosewater, and fifty gorgeous robes for the shrouding of the corpse. Mounted on a mule, and rejecting the usual parasol of state, the caliph rode slowly to the house of his faithful counsellor, and standing before the bier, weeping, said the prayers for the dead, and with his own hand set the stone to the entrance of the tomb. For three days he kept no table and received no guests. Eighteen days the offices of government remained closed, and no business was done. For a month the grave was a place of pilgrimage, where poets recited the virtues of the departed, at the caliph's expense, and a legion of Korān-readers chanted the sacred book day and night. Slave girls stood beside with silver cups and spoons to minister creature comforts of wine and sweetmeats to the crowd of mourning or interested visitors. The

¹ Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, who in 1046 saw seven of the galleys of Mo'izz drawn up on the bank of the Nile, where they had been beached on the conquest three-quarters of a century before, says that they measured 150 cubits long by 60 in the beam (*Safar Nāma*, ed. Schefer, 126). This would probably represent about 275 ft. by 110 ft.

The deceased wezir, paid his debts, or the salaries and maintenance of his dependents. In contrast to this display, however, it is said that after Gâwhar died, in the year 800, in other years, one reads only of the sumptuous gifts he left to his family in

Luxury which makes the most incredible to those who have no such passion for gewgaws. Precious stones and other fashionable novelties are brought from Mamlûk-ed-din of Aleppo² to Egypt; gold-embroidered many-colored cloths, made of the costly silks of the cities of Debîk; robes and cloaks of Baghdâd, or the cities of Iberias, or Cairo saklâtûn; perfumes and scented with ambergris, and covered with gold. The luxury of the table was also the luxury of the table. Fish were sent from the sea to Cairo, a thing which was eagerly sought a few years ago; sold in the markets in such great dainties they became cheap. These rarities brought strange animals, female elephants, which the people received, were at length introduced into the country; scuffed rhinoceros delighted the people. These novelties were secured at enormous demands on the treasury, and under rigorous financial control. Aziz controlled his exchequer, and strictly accounted for his revenues; nothing could be paid out. The money was not all spent during his reign saw many archi-

² The vase of St. Mark at Venice is said to bear the name of Denis vase in the Louvre, and see Makrîzi, i. 409 ff., etc.

tectural and engineering triumphs at Cairo, such as the Golden Palace, the Pearl Pavilion, his mother's mosque in the Kerāfa cemetery, the foundation in 991 of the great mosque known as el-Ḥākim's (then outside the Bāb-en-Naṣr), some important canals, bridges, and naval docks. 'Aziz was a man of orderly mind, and introduced many reforms in ceremonies and management. He was the first to make processions in state every Friday in Ramadān, the month of fasting, and to perform the prescribed service in the presence of the people as their high-priest; the first to give fixed salaries to his servants and retainers, and to supervise their liveries; the first of his family to adopt the disastrous policy of importing and favouring Turkish troops. With all his shrewdness and no inconsiderable culture, and a turn for poetry, he fancied himself a soothsayer—indeed, it was part of the Fātimid pretension to know the unknown—and exposed himself to some ridicule on this score. He once went out of his way to satirize the Omayyad caliph of Cordova in an insulting letter, but received the crushing retort: "You ridicule us because you have heard of us: if we had ever heard of you, we should reply." Nevertheless 'Aziz was the wisest and most beneficent of all the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt. The unbroken rest which the country enjoyed is his best witness; and though Africa was loosening its ties to Egypt, and Syria was only held down by force of arms, the name of 'Aziz was prayed for in the mosques from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, in the Yemen, in the sanctuary of Mekka,¹ and once (992) even in the pulpit of Mōsīl. A complication of agonizing disorders carried off this great ruler at Bilbeys, October 996, after a touching interview² with his little son, in 996 happy ignorance, despite his prophetic fancy, of the evil which the boy would work in the kingdom his father had so carefully nursed.

El-Ḥākim,³ (996—1021), the only son of this prudent

¹ A coin of A.H. 366 (976-7) struck at Mekka bears the name of 'Aziz (B.M. Cat., iv., p. ix.).

² See Ibn-Khallikān, iii. 529.

³ El-Mansūr Abū-'Alī el-Ḥākim bi-amri llāh ("ruling by God's

father and Christian mother, was but eleven years old when 'Aziz fell dead in his bath at Bilbeys. The emir Bargawān fetched him out of a fig-tree, and hastily setting

the jewelled turban on his head, brought him forth to the people, who kissed the ground before their new Imām. Next day, lance in hand, and sword hanging from the shoulder, the little boy followed the camel that bore his father's remains back to Cairo;

and the day after he was solemnly enthroned in the great palace in the presence of the whole Court, marshalled in order of rank. For the first few years he was naturally kept in a state of tutelage. His governor (*ustād*), appointed by 'Aziz, was the Slav eunuch Bargawān, whose name is still commemorated in one of the streets of Cairo; the Maghrabi (Berber) Ibn-'Ammār was given the command of the troops, with the title of "intermediary" (*el-Wāsit*) and the surname *Amin-ed-dawla* ("warden of the realm");¹ whilst the Christian Ibn-Nestorius continued to control the finances until his summary execution. The Berber general was practically regent, and used his power to promote the interests of his own tribe, the *Kitāma*, and to subordinate the Turkish party

command"). His coins were struck at Miṣr, el-Mansūriya, el-Mahdiya, Zawila (once), Sicily, Damascus, Fileştin (Ramla), Tyre (once), Tripolis (once), and once at Cairo with the epithet "guarded" (*el-Kāhira el-Mahrūsa*). The glass weights (for testing dinārs and dirhems, and their fractions and multiples) bearing el-Hākim's name, and sometimes a date, are numerous.

¹ He was the first Maghrabi to receive an honorific surname in Egypt. The practice of inventing special designations and titles for wezirs, popular with this pompous dynasty, dates from this time. Examples are the title of "Generalissimo" (*Kāid el-Kuwād*), given to Bargawān's successor el-Hoseyn, the son of G'awhar; Şālih of Rūdh-bar was styled *Thikat thikat es-seyf wa-l-kalam*, "trusty of the trusty of the pen and the sword"; Ibn-'Abdūn, el-Kāfi, "the efficient"; Zura', the son of Ibn-Nestorius, *es-Shāfi*, "the salutary"; el-Hoseyn b. Tāhir, *Amin el-Umānā*, "faithful of the faithful"; 'Ali b. G'a'far el-Fellāhi, *Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn*, "he of the two departments," etc. From 1137, the wezirs of the Fātimids took the title of *melik*, "king."



Fig. 24.—½-Dinār of el-Hākim, Sicily, 1004.

imported by 'Aziz. The Berbers accordingly waxed insolent, plundered and ill-treated the Egyptians, and fought the Turkish soldiery in the streets. It became a struggle between east and west, and the east won. The Kitāma were beaten and disgraced; Ibn-'Ammār was deprived of his office; the Turks sacked his palace, and when he ventured to come to court, they cut him down and presented his head to the delighted young caliph.

Bargawān, who had hitherto lived quietly in the palace, protecting his ward, now became regent, and intoxicated by sudden power and riches abandoned himself entirely to pleasure. He passed his time agreeably in the society of singers, listening to the music he loved, in the Pearl Palace which 'Aziz had built near the bridge-gate, overlooking the beautiful gardens of Kāfūr on the one hand, and on the other commanding a view over the canal to the Nile and the pyramids. Immersed in pleasure he lost all count of power. Hākim, left without control, began to assert himself and despise his governor, who, tutor-like, had called his pupil names. Very soon the boy began his career of bloodshed by having Bargawān assassinated. The people, shocked at the death of the popular chief, crowded threateningly to the palace; but the caliph put them off with lies and appealed to them to support him in his helpless youthfulness. The mob dispersed, and a dangerous crisis was over. It was a lesson in deportment that Hākim did not forget.

As the young caliph came more before the public, the eccentricities of his character began to appear. His strange face, with its terrible blue eyes, made people shrink; his big voice made them tremble. His tutor had called him "a lizard," and he had a creepy slippery way of gliding among his subjects that explained the nickname. He had a passion for darkness, would summon his council to meet at night, and would ride about the streets on his grey ass night after night, spying into the ways and opinions of the people under pretence of inspecting the market weights and measures. Night was turned into day by his command. All business and

catering was ordered to take place after sunset. The shops had to be opened and the houses illuminated to serve his whim, and when the poor people overdid the thing and began to frolic in the unwonted hours, repressive orders were issued; women forbidden to leave ¹⁰⁰³ their homes, and men to sit in the booths. Shoemakers were ordered to make no outdoor boots for women, so that they might not have the wherewithal to stir abroad, and the ladies of Cairo were not only enjoined on no account to allow themselves to be seen at the lattice-windows, but might not even take the air on the flat roofs of their houses. Stringent regulations were issued about food and drink. Hākim was a zealous abstainer, as all Muslims are expected to be. Beer was forbidden, wine was confiscated, vines cut down, even dried raisins were contraband; malūkhiya (Jews' mallow) was not to be eaten, and honey was seized and poured into the Nile. Games, such as the Egyptian chess, were prohibited, and the chessboards burnt. Dogs were to be killed wherever found in the streets, but the finest cattle could not be slaughtered save at the Feast of Sacrifice. Those who ventured to disobey these decrees were scourged and beheaded, or put to death by some of the novel forms of torture which the ingenious caliph delighted in inventing. A good many of these novel regulations were no doubt inspired by a genuine reforming spirit, but it was the spirit of a mad reformer. The lively ladies of Cairo have always needed a tight hand over them, but who could expect to restrain a woman by confiscating her boots? The prohibition of intoxicating liquors, gambling, and public amusements, was in keeping with the character of a sour and bitter Puritan, and were doubtless intended as much to improve the morals as to vex the souls of his subjects. But the nightly wanderings, the needless restrictions and harassing regulations concerning immaterial details, were signs of an unbalanced mind. Hākim may have meant well according to his lights, but his lights were strangely prismatic.

During the first ten years of the reign the Christians and Jews enjoyed the immunity and even privileges.

which they had obtained under the tolerant rule of 'Aziz; but as time went on they came in for their share of irrational persecution.¹ In public they were forced to wear black robes by way of livery; and in the baths, where one man without clothes is very like another, the naked Christians were compelled to distinguish themselves by wearing large and heavy crosses, while the Jews had to wear bells, or in the streets display a wooden image of a calf, in pleasing allusion to a discreditable episode in their early history. Next, a general order was issued for the destruction of all the Christian churches in Egypt, and the confiscation of their lands and property: the work of demolition went on for at least five years (1007—12). The Christians were offered the choice of becoming Muslims, or leaving the country, or else wearing a heavy cross as a badge of their degradation.

Many Christians, especially among the peasantry, to escape persecution, accepted the Mohammedan religion; and the office where the declarations of conversion were received on two days in the week was besieged with applications, insomuch that some of these eager proselytes were trampled to death in the crush. Such as remained true to their faith were subjected to various humiliations, and forbidden to ride horses, to keep Muslim servants, to be rowed by Muslim boatmen, or to purchase slaves.²

Fig. 25.—Dinār of el-Hākim, Miṣr, 1015. ¹⁰⁰⁵
¹⁰⁰⁸ ¹⁰¹²

¹ The caliph was said to have been excited against the Christians by a monk in revenge for the patriarch's refusal of a bishopric. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.*, 388.

² Some of these restrictions were scarcely oppressive. The Christians seem to have voluntarily adopted the black dress two centuries before (Abū-Sāliḥ, 52a), and riding horses had become the mark of the soldier. Hākim himself rode an ass. The purchase of slaves by Christians can only mean the purchase of Christian slaves.



The penalties inflicted upon Christians, however, were more a part of a general contempt of mankind than a sign of special dislike to one section. Whilst these very orders were being issued, Christians were still appointed to the highest offices, in virtue, no doubt, of their superior fiscal capacity. Ibn-'Abdūn, the wezir who had to sign the decree for the ¹⁰⁰⁹ demolition of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, was a Christian; and his successor was another Christian, "the Trusty" Zur'a, the son of the aged ex-wezir Ibn-Nestorius, who died in 1012. It is true their "path of glory led but to the grave." Hakim's wezirs, whether Christian or Muslim, were murdered with scrupulous impartiality. Fahd, a Muslim prime-minister, was made away with in 1003, and his successor was executed a month later; Ibn-'Abdūn was killed in 1010, and in the same year the generalissimo Hoseyn, the son of G'awhar, after being degraded and obliged to fly, then restored to office and apparent favour, was foully murdered in the palace by his treacherous sovereign, after every assurance of protection. Officials were tortured and killed like flies; arms were hacked off, tongues cut out, every kind of barbarity inflicted. A special department of government, ¹⁰⁰⁸ the *diwān mufrid*, was established for the management of the confiscated property of murdered and disgraced officials.

The deadly freaks of the caliph were most acutely felt at Cairo, but his fantastic orders ran throughout his dominions, and all Egypt suffered. Three years of low Niles increased the distress, and were taken as God's judgment for the wickedness of the times. It was no wonder that an adventurer was able to raise the country and defy the Fāṭimid armies for two years. A member of the royal Omayyad family, flying from Spain, set himself up as caliph, and winning the adhesion of the Benū-Kurra Arabs and of the Kitāma Berbers, who had never forgiven their humiliation at the hands of ¹⁰⁰⁵ the Turks in Cairo, obtained possession of Barķa, defeated the Fāṭimid troops sent against him, and over-

ran Egypt. Abū- Rakwa,¹ "the father of the leather bottle," as he was called, from the waterskin he carried after the manner of the dervishes, worsted the caliph's army again at G'iza, and camping beside the pyramids kept Cairo



Fig. 26.—Glass weight of el-Hakim, 1012.

in a fever of alarm. When at last he was crushed in a bloody battle, and captured in Nubia, his head and 30,000 skulls of his followers were sent in procession through all the towns of Syria on the backs of a hundred ¹⁰⁰⁷ camels, and then thrown into the Euphrates. The general Fadl, who had rid the caliph of this rival, reaped an ill reward for his service. He had the misfortune to enter the royal presence when Hākim was busily engaged in cutting up the body of a beautiful little child whom he had just murdered with his own knife. El-Fadl could not restrain his horror, but he knew the consequences : he went straight home, made his will, and admitted the caliph's headsmen an hour later. He had seen too much.

With all his frantic savagery, Hākim had gleams of intelligence and certainly of piety ; and his reign was not altogether wanting in religious and public works. His most famous monument is the mosque that still bears his name, close to the north gate or Bāb-en-Naṣr. Begun by his father in 991, it was completed in 1003, except the heightening of the minaret. He also built the Rāshida mosque, and often prayed there on Fridays ; and at Maṣṣ he founded both a mosque for the next world and a belvedere for this, near the river bank.

¹ His adopted titles were eth-Thā'ir bi-amri-lلāh and el-Muntaşir min-a'dā'i-lلāh, both favourites with Shi'a pretenders, but strange in an Ommayyad.

THE HALL OF SCIENCE

The most important building, however, was the "Hall of Science" or "Hall of Knowledge," erected in 1005 by the vizier of Sultan al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah, for the promotion of learning



Fig. 21. Mosque of al-Hakim, 901-1003.

mathematics, astronomy, lexicography, grammar, poetry, history, and medicine. It was a luxuriously fitted hall containing a magnificent library, largely supplied with the open shelves open to every one, and supplied

with all necessities of study.¹ All the men of learning of Cairo and many visitors from afar used to meet there, and once they were invited in a body to the palace, and to their surprise returned clothed with robes of honour instead of losing their heads.

Even in his buildings, however, there was something fantastic and suspicious. When he set up a great barn on the Muḳaṭṭam hills, and filled it with firewood,¹⁰⁰⁴ the people were convinced that he meditated a general holocaust on a gigantic pyre, and an official proclamation barely reassured them. The desert slopes of Muḳaṭṭam were his favourite haunt. There he had his observatory (another in the Kerāfa was never finished), where he pursued the astrological calculations which he sternly forbade to his subjects. Hither he would ride on his grey ass before break of day, dressed in the extreme simplicity which he substituted for the pomp and splendour of his ancestors, attired in a plain robe of one colour, without a jewel even in his turban, and attended by a groom or two, or often quite alone. It must be admitted that he had courage. When he had roused hatred on all sides, killed whole families on suspicion, and exasperated every passion of vengeance, he still rode out, scarcely attended, in the deserts or in the crowded streets, by day and by night, indulging in fresh fancies or prying into the ways of his subjects, too often with bloody consequences. Only his deadly ferocity, and a sense of mysterious awe, saved him from the hourly risks of assassination. Not an attempt was made upon him for a quarter of a century. It is true he had an omnipresent secret police, including women spies, who served him well in the ḥarims.

¹ The sums allowed for the maintenance of the Hall of Science seem small compared with the luxury of the times. The annual grant for paper for copying MSS. was 90 *D.*; for ink and pens, etc., 12 *D.*; for repairing books, 12 *D.*; for cushions and carpets and winter curtains, 19 *D.*; for water, 12 *D.*; for salaries of the librarian and servants, 63 *D.* The total grant was 275 *D.* (Maḳrizi, *Khitāt*, i. 409.) The Hall of Science was closed in 1119 by the wezīr Asdal, in consequence of its use by heretical teachers; but a new Hall of Science was built near the great palace, and opened in 1123 by order of his successor, the wezīr Ma'mūn.

Matters grew worse as the caliph grew older. Wanton executions and confiscations became more frequent, and other people's lands were bestowed at random on common soldiers and sailors, or anybody. The folk began to fly the country. The bazars of Fustāt were closed. All business was at a standstill. For seven years not a woman was seen in the streets. Revolt was in the air.

¹⁰¹³ Alexandria was independent under the Kurra Arabs. At Cairo a female guy was set up in the street, lampoon in hand. The caliph took it as he rode by, and black

¹⁰¹⁴ with fury seized the supposed woman, who proved to be of paper. Thereupon, in one of his ungovernable passions of rage, Hākim sent his black troops to burn Fustāt. The inhabitants ran to arms; there was three days' fighting in the streets; the mosque was full of shrieking supplicants; half the city was sacked or burnt, and many of its women enslaved. Still the people endured. Then a new mania seized the bemused caliph. He fancied himself the Incarnation of the Godhead, and compelled all men to worship his name. It was the legitimate outcome of extreme Shi'a mysticism, and it found

¹⁰¹⁸ support. One Hasan, known as "Slit-nose" (el-Akhram), came from distant Farghāna and preached the divinity of Hākim. A man of the people murdered him and was executed, and the Sunnis honoured the murderer's grave. Then Hamza came from Sūsan, in

¹⁰¹⁹ Persia, to propagate the new doctrine, and won many adherents, who adorned themselves with strange titles. Some of these fanatics rode into the old mosque of 'Amr at Fustāt and began to preach, their followers applauding

¹⁰²⁰ and clapping their hands like thunder. The people flocked in to see the sight, but when one of the preachers addressed the kādi "In the Name of el-Hākim the Compassionate, the Merciful," it was too much: a tumult ensued, the people killed the blasphemers, dragged their bodies through the streets, and burnt them.

Never had Hākim been so near a revolution. His palace was besieged by the Turkish troops in search of Darāzī, a leader of the new-fangled sect, who had taken

refuge there : but Hākim was true to his insolent courage. He told them from a balcony that the man was not there, and afterwards that he was dead ; he lied, but he did not give him up. Darāzi escaped to found the Druze religion in the Lebanon. For a time Hākim dissembled his rage, but in the seclusion of his palace he was concocting plans of vengeance. After a month or so of ominous reserve, the negro troops were again sent into Fustāt, where the revolt had begun. They went quietly, in separate bands ; but once there, they set about plundering and devastating the city, burst into houses and even baths, hauling out the young girls, and committing every atrocity that black blood suggests. The caliph came riding along on his ass, as usual, and to him the desperate folk crowded with piteous entreaty to be saved from the brutal soldiery. He answered never a word.

One result of his assumption of Godhead was the relaxation of many of the prescribed rules of Islām. In his new capacity Hākim rescinded the laws of fasting and pilgrimage, since the ordinances of the Korān were to be interpreted allegorically, and he personally abandoned the now superfluous habits of prayer and fasting. It was probably in the same spirit of religious emancipation, as much as to add to the exasperation of his afflicted Muslim subjects, that he rescinded his penalties against Christians, permitted them to resume their religion, and rebuild their churches. Many nominal Muslims thus reverted openly to their real creed, and the churches were restored to more than their former state. On the other hand the Muslims were treated with increased barbarity ; nothing was safe from the black troops, and the people prayed in the mosques and cried aloud in vain, for there was none to help them.¹⁰²¹

At last a stand was made. The Turkish troops and the Kitāma Berbers, finding themselves neglected, made common cause against the black infantry, and in a series of street battles broke their power and restored some degree of order in the distracted city. Hākim for once could make no head against the resistance of the

indignant troops. He had raised up, moreover, a powerful enemy within his own household. His only sister, the Princess Royal, a woman of spotless character and great intelligence, had not escaped the madman's rancour. She rebuked him boldly for the horrors of his reign ; he retorted by an outrageous slander against her chastity. To save her father's kingdom for her father's grandchild,¹ no less than to preserve her purity from an odious ordeal, she abandoned her wretched brother, and joined the rising conspiracy. She entered into negotiations with the Berber chiefs, and the result was soon seen.

On February 13th, 1021, Hākim took his wonted ride towards the Muqattam hills, and rambled about all night. In the morning he dismissed his two grooms, and went on alone into the desert, as he had often done before. Some days later his ass was found, maimed, on the hills ; then his coat of seven colours, with dagger marks ; his body was never discovered. After four years a man confessed to the murder, "out of zeal for God and Islām" ; but a mystery still hung over the vanishing of the mad caliph. People refused to believe that he was really dead. His return was anxiously awaited. Pretenders arose and claimed to be the lost Hākim ; and to this day the Druzes in the Lebanon worship the Divine Reason incarnate in his singularly unworthy person, and believe that one day he will come again in majesty and reveal truth and judgment.

The effects of this terrible quarter of a century could not be speedily undone, nor was Hākim's only son, a boy of sixteen, who was proclaimed caliph with the name of *ez-Zāhir*² (1021-1036), the man for the crisis. His

¹ Hākim in 1013 had set aside his only son, the future Zāhir, and proclaimed as his successor a certain 'Abd-er-Rahmān, a great-grandson of el-Mahdi. This person was duly recognized in *khutba* and *sikka*, prayer and coins, and coins bearing his name, struck at Miṣr, Damascus, and el-Manṣūriya, are found, from 1012 to 1021, with the title "heir of the covenant of the Muslims." When Zāhir succeeded his father, 'Abd-er-Rahmān absconded.

² Abū-l-Hasan 'Ali *ez-Zāhir li-'izāzi-dīni llāh*, "the triumphant in strengthening God's religion." His coins were issued from the mints

aunt, the Princess Royal (Seyyidet-el-Mulk), managed the affairs of state for four years, but she had to deal with a military oligarchy, and to meet them with their own unhandsome weapons. The Berber leader of the revolt against Hākim was treacherously murdered in the palace by her order, and the execution of two wezirs followed. After her death the government

fell into the hands of a court clique, who, to preserve their power, banished wiser counsellors from the young caliph's side, and encouraged him in his natural folly and self-indulgence.

Once a day the three sheykhs who formed this cabal visited the royal youth in due form, but all serious affairs of government were arranged without his concurrence. The condition of the people, relieved by the cancelling of all Hākim's obnoxious restrictions, was nevertheless aggravated by a serious failure of the inundation, which entailed

Fig. 28.—Dinār of ez-Zāhir, Miṣr, 1030.



great scarcity and high prices. Oxen rose to 50 D. a head, and their slaughter had to be prohibited, to prevent utter extermination. Camels of burden became scarce, and fowls, the common meat of Egypt, were not to be had. People tried to sell their furniture, and could not find purchasers. They sickened and died for want of food, and the stronger turned brigand and plundered the caravans, even of pilgrims; the roads were infested with robbers, and the Syrian rebels invaded the frontier towns. The people crowded before the palace, crying, "Hunger, hunger! O commander of the faithful, it was not thus under your father and grandfather!" The palace itself was so short of food, that when the banquet for the Feast of Sacrifice was spread, the starving slaves swept the table. The

of Miṣr, el-Manṣūriya, el-Mahdiya, Zawila (once), Sicily, Filestīn (Ramla), and Tyre, and Alexandria appears for the first time as a Fāṭimid mint in A.H. 423 (1032). Numerous glass weights, often dated, exist.

treasury was empty, the taxes in arrears. Slaves broke into revolt, and the citizens formed committees of safety, and were permitted to kill them in self-defence. Barricades were thrown up to keep the rebels out. The wezir, el-G'ārgārāi, was a prisoner in his own house. The situation was critical ; but an ample Nile in 1027 restored plenty, and with the relief from famine the disturbances quieted down.

Besides the Syrian war (see ch. vi.), the most notable event of Zāhir's fifteen years' reign was a solitary religious persecution in 1025, when all the divines of the Mālikī school were banished from Egypt. As a rule there was perfect toleration of the Muhammadan sects, and the Sunnis were not disturbed in the free exercise of their religious rites. A treaty was also made with the Roman Emperor, Constantine VIII., who allowed Zāhir's name to be prayed for in the mosques in his dominions, and the mosque at Constantinople to be restored, in return for the caliph's permission to rebuild the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.¹ Zāhir himself was completely engrossed in his pleasures and in the training of his mamlūk guard ; but his love of music and dancers was combined with a savage cruelty which proved him his father's son. He once invited all the young girls of the palace to a merry-making. They came in their holiday best, and were led into the mosque, to await the festivities. The doors were then closed and bricked up, and 2660 girls perished of starvation. The history adds that for six months their bodies lay there unburied, and it is a relief to learn that the wretch who planned this wanton barbarity himself died of the plague in June, 1036.

He was followed by his seven year old son Ma'add (1036—1094), who, at the age of eight months, had been proclaimed heir, and now assumed the caliphate with the name of el-Mustansir.² His reign of sixty lunar

¹ Maķ. i. 355. This arrangement was renewed in 1037-8, when the emperor Michael IV. released 5000 Muslim prisoners and sent architects to Jerusalem. Abū-l-Fidā, iii. 96.

² Abū-Temim Ma'add el-Mustansir bi-llāh, "The seeker of aid from God." With the exception of five years (four of which, 1070 ff.,

years and four months is probably the longest recorded of any Mohammadan ruler. For the third time in the history of the Fātimids we find a woman's influence

almost supreme. The Christian wife of 'Aziz, the political sister of Hākim, were followed by the black mother of Ma'add. She was a Sūdāni slave, bought of a Jew of Tustar, and she and Abū-Sa'id, her Hebrew vendor, enjoyed most of the power during the caliph's childhood. By their exertions

the new wezīr who succeeded G'arğarā'i (+1044) was ¹⁰⁴⁴ deposed and executed, and Ṣadaqa, a renegade Jew, appointed in his place. The renegade, however, finding Abū-Sa'id's interference intolerable, turned upon his patron and had him murdered by the Turkish guard. In revenge, the wālida (dowager, or caliph's mother) had the wezīr assassinated. The next minister sought to balance the overweening power of the Turks by importing negro troops, but he too was deposed, and his successor held office for only three months. Then, in 1050, el-Yāzūri entered upon a wezirate which lasted eight years.

In territorial extent the dominions of the Fātimids were now reduced to little more than Egypt itself. Syria had long resisted their authority (see ch. vi.). North Africa, under four successive rulers of the Sanhāǵa Berbers, seated at Mahdiya, had acknowledged their suzerainty by citing the caliphs' names in the prayer and on the coinage, by paying an annual tribute, and by receiving formal investiture on each succession by the caliph's diploma; but about 1044 Mo'izz, the ruling governor, joined the orthodox Sunnī sect, and renouncing

fell during or immediately after the great famine) there is a consecutive series of annual issues of Mustansir's gold coins from the mint of Miṣr from A.H. 427 to 486 (1036-93). His other mints were Alexandria (especially during the last twenty years of the reign, to A.H. 488 = 1095), el-Bastā, el-Manṣūriya (to 1036-7), el-Mahdiya (to 1065), Sicily (to 1054-5), Filestīn (Ramla), Damascus, Tabariya (Tiberias), 'Akka, Tyre, Tripolis, Aleppo (1050-5), Medina (1061), and Baghdađ (Medīnat-es-Selām, 1058). His glass weights abound.



Fig. 29.—Glass weight of
el-Mustansir.

the Fātimids accepted a fresh investiture from the ¹⁰⁴⁶ 'Abbāsid caliph in 1046.¹ At this the Shi'a of the west revolted against Mo'izz, and at the same time on the east the Egyptian government sent the great Arab tribe



Fig. 30.—Dinār of el-Mustanṣir, Miṣr, 1047.

of Hilāl to bring him back to his allegiance. The Hilāl occupied Barkā and Tripolis, and settled there; but Mo'izz, though defeated, maintained his independence at Mahdiya, letting other minor states spring up further west. Sicily, where the Kelbi emirs had recognized the Fātimid supremacy, fell to the Normans in 1071 ff.² Henceforth, beyond an intermittent authority in Barkā, the rulers of Egypt owned no subjects further west.

In Arabia, on the other hand, they received an unexpected accession of prestige by the voluntary homage of a Shi'a proselyte, 'Ali the Ṣuleyhid, who subdued the Yemen and the Ḥigāz from Hadramawt to Mekka by 1063, and proclaimed the divine right of the Fātimid caliph in every pulpit. A still more surprising development was seen, when not only in the holy cities which had witnessed the birth of Islām, but even in Baghdād itself, the home of the orthodox caliphate, the name of Mustanṣir was prayed for in the mosques.³ It was but the temporary success of a Turkish general, el-Besāsiri, that procured this unparalleled honour, and when this

¹ The latest coin of el-Mansūriya (Kayrawān) bearing the Fātimid caliph's name, is of A.H. 438 (1046-7). Several coins, however, were struck at el-Mahdiya from 1062-5, in the name of Mustanṣir, showing a temporary return to allegiance.

² The Sicilian emirs issued their coinage solely in the names of the Fātimid caliphs, and the last dated issues are of A.H. 446 and 448? (1054-7).

³ A coin of Baghdād (Medinat-es-Selām) struck in A.H. 450 (1058-9) with the name of Mustanṣir is recorded by Frähn (*Inedita Asiae. Mus.*, 1847).

adventurer discovered that it was the better policy to submit to the irresistible strength of the rising Selgük power than to build his hopes on the support which the Fātimid government had lavishly tendered, Baghdād resumed its old allegiance to the 'Abbāsids. The fact, however, that for forty Fridays the mosques of the "City of Peace" resounded with the name and style of the Egyptian caliph, and that the robe and turban and filigree throne of the rival pontiff had actually been carried off and deposited in the palace at Cairo,¹ caused the liveliest enthusiasm; the city was *en fête*, and Mustanṣir spent two million dinārs in furnishing the "little West Palace"—originally built by 'Aziz for the Princess Royal—as a gilded cage for the 'Abbāsid caliph, whom he confidently expected to hold as his prisoner. Long afterwards the land beside the Nile near the "River" or "Iron" Gate was known as "the demesne of the tamburina" (*Ard-et-Tabbāla*), after the estate bestowed by Mustanṣir upon a singer who improvised some verses on this amazing triumph of the Fātimids and sang them to the accompaniment of her drum.

An interesting description of Cairo and other places in Egypt by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i-Khusrau has fortunately been preserved.² The royal city, Cairo itself (then called el-Ḳāhirah el-Mo'izziyah), was a very large town when he saw it in 1046—49; the houses, roughly estimated at 20,000, were built chiefly of bricks, so carefully joined that they looked like squared stone, to the height of five or six storeys, and separated from other houses by well-cultivated gardens and orchards, irrigated by wells and water-wheels. The rent of a moderate-sized house of four storeys was 11 *D.* a month (or about £70 a year), and the landlord of the house in which the traveller lodged refused 5 *D.* a month for the top storey.

¹ They remained there until the restoration of orthodoxy by Saladin, who sent back the turban and robe to Baghdād. The iron throne or lectern was retained, and eventually placed in the mosque of Beybars II.

² *Sefer Nameh: relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed. & tr. Ch. Schefner, 1881, pp. 110—162.

All the houses in Cairo belonged to the caliph, and the rents were collected every month. The shops, which were reckoned at 20,000, were also his property, and were let at from 2*D.* to 10*D.* a month, which, even taking so low an average as 5*D.*, represents an annual income of about £650,000. The old wall of the city was no longer standing in 1046, and the second wall had not yet been begun ; but the Persian traveller was struck by the high blank walls of the houses and still more of the palace, the stones of which were so closely united that they looked like a solid block. His account of the interior is disappointingly brief, but he mentions the celebrated throne-room, with its throne of gold sculptured with hunting scenes, surrounded by a golden lattice screen, and ascended by silver steps. He was told that the palace contained 30,000 people, including 12,000 servants, and that the guard mounted every night consisted of 1000 horse and foot. The city of Miṣr (Fustāṭ) was separated from Cairo by a space of nearly a mile, covered with gardens, flooded by the Nile in the inundation, so that in summer it looked like a sea. This was the well-known and well-loved "Lake of the Abyssinians," (Birket el-Habash), with its surrounding gardens, a favourite resort of Cairenes, of which Ibn-Sa'īd sings : "O lake of the Abyssinians, where my day was one long spell of happy peace ; so that Heaven seemed on thy bosom, and all my time a joyous feast. How lovely is the flax when it rises upon thee with its flowers or buds in knots, and its leaves unsheathed from thee like swords." Hard by was the monastery of St. John, with its beautiful gardens, laid out by Temim the son of the caliph Mo'izz, and afterwards a favourite spot of the caliph Ḥāfiẓ; and the "Well of the Steps" shaded by a giant sycamore.¹ Miṣr was built on an elevation, to escape the water, and to the Persian traveller looked "like a mountain" from a distance, with its houses of seven to fourteen storeys, standing each on a space of 30 cubits square, and capable of holding 350 people. Some of the

streets were covered, and lighted by lamps. There were seven mosques in Miṣr and eight in Cairo ; the number of khāns (wekālas) was reckoned at 200. A bridge of 36 boats joined Miṣr to "the Island" (Rōda), but there was no bridge from the island to G'iza, only a ferry.

The traveller was especially struck by the Market of Lamps at Miṣr, where he saw rarities and works of art such as he saw in no other city, and was astonished at the profusion of fruits and vegetables in the bazars. He describes the pottery made at Fustūṭ as so delicate that you could see your hand through it, and remarks the metallic lustre which is still seen in fragments found in the mounds which occupy the site of the city. He also saw some fine transparent green glass made there. The shopkeepers sold "at a fixed price," and if they cheated they were put on a camel and paraded through the streets, ringing a bell and confessing their fault. All the tradespeople rode donkeys, which were on hire in every street, to the number of 50,000. Only the soldiers rode horses.

Nāṣir-i-Khusrau found Egypt in a state of the utmost ¹⁰⁴⁶ tranquillity and prosperity. The shops of the jewellers and money changers, he says, were left unfastened, save by a cord (perhaps a net, as in the present day) stretched in front, and the people had full confidence in the government and in the amiable caliph. He saw Mustansır riding his mule at the high festival of cutting the canal : a pleasant-looking young man, with shaven face, dressed very simply in a white kaftān and turban, with a parasol enriched with precious stones and pearls carried by a high officer. Three hundred Persians of Deylemi followed on foot, armed with halberds and axes. Eunuchs burnt incense of ambergris and aloes on either side, and the people threw themselves on their faces and called down blessings on the caliph. The chief kādi and a crowd of doctors and officials followed, and the escort included 20,000 mounted Kitāma Berbers, 10,000 Bāṭilis, 20,000 blacks, 10,000 "Orientals" (Turks and Persians), 30,000 purchased slaves, 15,000 Bedawis of the Hīgāz, 30,000 black and white slave attendants and chamber-

lains (*ustād*), 10,000 palace servants (*serāyi*), and 30,000 negro swordsmen. Besides these (which constituted the whole army, and probably were only represented by select divisions), the caliph's suite included various princes visiting the court, from Maghrib, Yemen, Rūm, Slavonia, Georgia, Nubia, Abyssinia, and even Tatars from Turkestan and the sons of the king of Delhi. Poets and men of letters, in the caliph's pay, attended; and all Cairo and Miṣr, Christians included, turned out to see the cutting of the dam by the caliph, beside the pavilion es-Sukkara, built by his ancestor 'Aziz near the mouth; and then to go sailing on the Nile. The first boat-load was of deaf and dumb people, whose presence made an auspicious opening of the festivities. Though his descriptions relate chiefly to the capital, the Persian traveller records enough about the country, from Tinnīs to Aswān, to confirm the impression that in agriculture and in general appearance it differed little from the Egypt of to-day.

The administration of el-Yāzūrī (1050—58), a man sprung of a humble sailor's family at Yāzūr near Jaffa, who rose to be ḫāḍī of Egypt and then wezir, was characterized by an honest desire to improve the condition of the cultivators and at the same time increase the declining revenue.¹ A general return taken in his wezirate set forth the total receipts and expenditure in all the districts of the kingdom, and the revenue from the land-tax appeared to be only one million dinārs for Egypt and the like for Syria (*Makr.* i. 99, 100). Yāzūrī attempted economic reforms, both wise and foolish. His first step was to sell the government corn reserves (worth 100,000 *D.* annually) at the lowest current price, instead of waiting as before for a dear market. He seems to have deprecated government speculation in the necessities of life. The result was not only a heavy loss to the treasury, but when a low Nile produced a famine

¹ Suyūṭī says he was allowed for a month to add his own name to that of the caliph on the coinage, but there is no numismatic confirmation of this.

soon after, there was no reserve of corn to fall back upon. As usual plague followed hard upon famine, and a thousand people are said to have died daily. In this distress the government arranged with the emperor of Constantinople for a supply of 2,000,000 bushels of grain; but the death of Constantine Monomachus in 1055, and the conditions imposed by Theodora, including an offensive and defensive alliance between the two empires, led to the withholding of the needed supply and to hostilities in northern Syria. The Byzantines had discovered, like Besūsīrī, that the Selgiûks were more worth conciliating than the Egyptians, and the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph, at the request of the Selgûk Sultân Tughril Beg, was now prayed for in the mosque at Constantinople. In retaliation Mustansîr laid hands upon the treasure accumulated in the newly restored Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.

Warned by failure, Yâzûrî took the opportunity of a good Nile to introduce a different system in relation to the fellâhîn. He put a stop to the mischievous practice of allowing merchants and usurers to buy the standing crops at a low price, ruinous to the cultivators, and, like a second Joseph, he laid up immense stores of corn at Fustât as a reserve against famine.¹ He was not himself above the suspicion of illegal aggrandisement, unfortunately, and his extortions from the Copts were especially unjust. He threw the patriarch Christodulus into prison on a false suspicion of having influenced the Christian king of Nubia to withhold the yearly tribute. Many fines were exacted from the Copts on slight pretexts, and

¹ Ibn-Mammâtî, who died in 1209, gives the following statistics for the taxation of the different classes of land. Wheat and barley land paid 3 ardebbs (15 bushels) per acre, up to 1172, and afterwards $2\frac{1}{2}$; broad beans, 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ard. per acre; peas, chickpeas, and lentils, $2\frac{1}{2}$; flax varied, the highest amount was 3 dinârs per acre; clover, 1 D.; lupin, $1\frac{1}{4}$ D.; melons and white beans, 3 D.; cotton, 1 D.; sugar cane, of the first growth, 5 D., later growth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ D.; colocasia, 5 D.; bâdingân (melongena), 3 D.; indigo, 3 D.; vines and fruit trees in the fourth year, 3 D. There is no mention of rice, or maize, or dhura in the list; but it does not profess to be complete. In the present day the value of the winter crops averages £7 an acre.

at Dimrū these extortions were coupled with a general closing of the churches, some of which were destroyed. An inscription in the name of the Trinity over the patriarch's door was erased : " You cannot efface it from my heart," was his retort. Soon after, all the churches of Egypt were ordered to be closed, the patriarch and bishops were imprisoned, and a fine of 70,000 dinars demanded. Yāzūri was poisoned in 1058, being suspected of intrigues with Baghdād. His inordinate wealth doubtless led to his downfall. He was a man of fine taste, a great lover of pictures, and a munificent patron of learned men.

¹⁰³ After Yāzūri, wezirs came and went like ministers of a modern republic. There were forty changes in nine years ; but by this time it had been discovered that it was not absolutely necessary to kill a deposed wezir, and it became usual to confer upon him some lower office, from which he often rose to the top rank again. Some of these wezirs held office three or four times, and a change of ministry did not necessarily involve a massacre. These frequent changes were due to the incompetence of the caliph and the factious composition of the court and army. Mustanṣir was in the hands of all sorts of nobodies, who gave him conflicting counsels, distracted his experienced officials, and left him more perplexed than ever. Eight hundred letters a day testified to the grievances of his subjects and the weak vacillation of their sovereign, open to every influence and impression, however base and interested. A curious story is related of his irritability. He was one day superintending a murderous bastinading of a wezir, when the black dowager remonstrated, and told her son that killing a man was not the best way to make him disgorge his wealth, but if he would hand over the wezir to her, she knew how to squeeze him. The caliph thereupon rose in great wrath, and marched off towards the mosque of 'Amr. His chamberlains pursued, wondering what this new proceeding meant. Mustanṣir told them that as everybody thwarted him and kept him in leading strings he was resolved to throw up the government and retire to the mosque and devote

the rest of his life to religion. The thought, however, of the pillage that would at once destroy his beautiful palace brought him back to reason, and the chamberlains persuaded him to return. His religious yearnings were not deep-seated, if the story be true that in his palaces at Heliopolis he erected a pavilion in imitation of the Ka'ba of Mekka, and laid out a pond full of wine to represent the sacred well of Zemzem, and there sat and drank to the sounds of stringed music and singers, saying, "This is pleasanter than staring at a black stone, listening to the drone of the mu'edhdhin, and drinking bad water!" In such pleasures he consoled himself for the lack of all power and dignity. That he was not wanting in kindly feeling, however, is shown by the following story. Every year the usual pension-list, amounting to between 100,000 *D.* and 200,000 *D.*, was laid before him for his revision. On one occasion he did not strike out a single pensioner's name, but with his own hand endorsed the list with this comment : "Poverty is a sore diet, and want bows the neck. Our anxiety for their welfare is shown in a generous distribution of help ; let them therefore have their shares liberally. What ye possess will be spent ; what is given to God lasts for ever."

Meanwhile the jealousy between the Turkish troops (and the Sūdāni battalions, favoured by their country-woman, the caliph's mother, grew to alarming proportions. A broil led to a general engagement, and the Turks, supported by the Kitāma and other Berbers, drove the blacks, to the number of 50,000, out of Cairo into Upper Egypt, whence for several years they repeatedly advanced by land and water to attack their enemy. The Turks, however, had the upper hand in the capital, in spite of the dowager's intrigues, and they used their power in despoiling the palace and emptying the treasury, terrifying the changing wezirs, and treating the caliph with contempt. Instead of 28,000 *D.* they now drew 400,000 *D.* a month from the treasury in pay and allowances. Their leader, Nāṣir-ed-dawla b. Hamdān, commander-in-chief of the Fāṭimid army, carried matters with so high a hand that at last he alienated his own colleagues and officers,

who induced the helpless caliph to dismiss him from his post.¹⁰⁶⁹ The deposed general made them all pay dearly for their revolt. Though obliged to fly from his enemies in Cairo, he had Alexandria in his power, and quickly obtained the support of some Arab tribes and of the Lewāṭa Berbers. The caliph had shown some spirit during this disturbance, and had even appeared in mail at the head of such troops as remained loyal, by whose aid he had defeated Nāṣir-ed-dawla; but his authority was now limited to his capital. The black regiments held all Upper Egypt, and 40,000 horsemen of the Lewāṭa overran the delta, and abandoned the dikes and canals to destruction, with the open intention of starving the inhabitants. Cairo and Fustāṭ were cut off from supplies, and a terrible famine which had begun with the low Nile of 1065, and lasted unbroken for seven years (1066-72), brought the country to the utmost pitch of misery. The fellāḥin, in terror of the armed bands that infested the land, dared not carry on their work, and the usual effects of a bad Nile were thus prolonged to successive years. In the capital, cut off from all communication with the provinces, the famine was felt in the greatest severity. A cake of bread was sold for 15 *D.*, though an ardebb (five bushels) of corn could be bought for 100 *D.*, a house was exchanged for 20 lbs. of flour, an egg went for a dinār. Horses and asses were eaten, a dog fetched 5 *D.*, a cat 3 *D.*, till soon there was not an animal to be seen. The caliph's own stable, which once held 10,000 horses and mules, was reduced to three nags, and when he rode abroad his escort, on foot, fainted with hunger. At last, people began to eat each other. Passengers were caught in the streets by hooks let down from the windows, drawn up, killed, and cooked. Human flesh was sold in public. Horrible tales are recorded of the atrocities of that reign of terror, and though examples were made of some of the criminals, the feeble government could make no head against the maddened populace. Plague came to finish what famine had begun, and whole houses were emptied of every living soul in twenty-four hours.

The rich suffered almost as much as the poor. Gay courtiers sought employment as grooms and sweepers. A man went to a bath, and the manager asked him whether he would prefer to be served by 'Izz-ed-dawla, or Fakhr-ed-dawla, or Sa'd-ed-dawla—three of the great emirs of the day, who now undertook his shampooing. Ladies of rank tried vainly to sell their jewels for bread, and threw away their useless pearls and emeralds in the street. One lady, who contrived with great difficulty to secure a handful of flour in exchange for a necklace worth 1000 *D.*, made a little cake and brandished it before the crowd, crying, "O people of Cairo, pray for our lord the caliph, whose reign brings us such blessing and prosperity ! Thanks to him, this cake cost me 1000 dinārs." Mustansir was roused for a moment from the lethargy in which he was sunk, and compelled the merchants, who had "cornered" the wheat stores, to disgorge and sell to the people at a moderate price ; but he could do little. His own vast means were exhausted. Of all the caliphs none had approached him in wealth. Two extremely aged princesses, daughters of his ancestor Mo'izz, had died in 1050 (see p. 111), and left him the treasures for which four caliphs had successively sighed. Their wealth amounted to millions. The inventory of Mustansir's treasures recorded by Maqrīzī reads like a fable in "the Thousand and One Nights;"¹ yet all these exquisite

¹ Some of the items are interesting as evidence of the art and luxury of the times. Omitting precious stones (such as a box containing 7 *medd*, or 10 lb., of emeralds, worth 300,000 *D.* ; 7 *weybā*, or 250 lb., of fine pearls, ruby rings, etc.), the inventory included thousands of large crystal vases, some engraved with the name of 'Azīz ; gold plates inlaid and enamelled in colours, cups of bezoar engraved with the name of Hārūn er-Rashīd ; inkstands of gold, silver, ebony, ivory, aloes and other woods, carved, inlaid, and jewelled ; great porcelain jars full of camphor of Keysūr, cups of amber, phials of musk ; large wash-tubs on three legs in form of animals, worth 1000 *D.* apiece ; white China eggs (for warming the hands, perhaps) ; the gold mattress on which the caliph Ma'mūn had slept on an interesting occasion ; enamelled plates presented by the Roman emperor to 'Azīz ; steel mirrors ; glass and pottery innumerable ; parasols with gold and silver sticks ; chased and inlaid silver vessels of all shapes ; chess and draught boards of silk embroidered

and priceless works of art had been dissipated among the barbarous Turks during the tyranny of Nāṣir-ed-dawla. They had forced the caliph to sell everything, and then bought the treasures at an absurd forced price. Jewellery which had cost 600,000 *D.* was sold for 20,000 ; emeralds valued at 300,000 went to a Turkish general for 500 ; often there was not even the pretence of a sale, but a scene of open looting. One of the valuers stated that at the lowest reckoning the treasures sold in a single fortnight of December, 1067, were worth 30,000,000 *D.* The costly collections of the "Treasury of the Flags" were destroyed by a torch dropped by a follower of one

in gold, with pawns of gold, silver, ivory, and ebony; 4000 gold vases for narcissus flowers, and 2000 for violets ; artificial fruits and other toys made of amber and camphor ; a jewelled turban valued at 130,000 *D.*, the stones of which weighed 17 lbs. ; perfumes in vast masses ; a gold peacock with ruby eyes and enamelled feathers ; a gold cock, whose comb and eyes were made of rubies ; a gazelle covered with pearls ; a table of sardonyx ; a gold palm tree with dates of precious stones. The thirty-eight state barges or dahabiyas for Nile processions included one made for the caliph by order of the vezir G'ārgarāī at a cost of 13,000 *D.*, and the "silver barge" of the black dowager, presented to her by her former owner, Abū-Sa'id. The silks and embroideries, velvets, and other stuffs, included red damask brocaded with gold in the design of parks where elephants roamed ; silks embroidered with the history of the dynasties of the east, and portraits of famous men, with their dates and deeds ; the carpet made for Mo'izz at Tustar, depicting a map of the world, its mountains, rivers, cities, where Mekka and Medina were clearly recognized ; stuffs of Dālik, Kalmün, Behnesa, Damascus, China, innumerable and priceless ; immense collections of jewelled daggers, swords, Khalang javelins, Khaṭṭ lances, and arms of all sorts, including the sword of 'Amr b. Ma'di Kerib, of Mo'izz, of Kāim, the curass of Hoseyn, the shield of Hamza, and even the famous "Dhū-l-Fikār," the Excalibur of the Prophet Mohammad himself. The tents of gold brocade and silk were sometimes worked with pictures of men and animals and birds, and supported by gilt poles ; one specially large tent, made for Yāzūri at a cost of 30,000 *D.*, had a pole 65 cubits high, and a circumference of 500 cubits, and required 100 camels to transport it with its furniture. It was covered with designs, and took 50 artists nine years to make. The caliph Zāhir's tent was of pure gold thread, supported on six silver pillars ; another made at Aleppo, and costing 30,000 *D.*, was supported by the tallest mast of a Venetian galley ; another was called "the slayer," because it invariably killed one or two men in pitching.
—Makrizi.

of the Turkish goths—collections which had been formed at a cost of 70,000 or 80,000 *D.* a year for a century past.

But the most irreparable loss of that reign of brigandage was the dispersion of the caliphs' library of over 100,000 books on every branch of learning and belles-lettres known to the Arabs. They were stored in locked presses round the room, with labels to indicate the contents of each press. The library staff seems to have consisted of only a librarian, two copyists, and two servants. Among the manuscripts were 2400 illuminated Korāns, books in the handwriting of Ibn-Muḳla and other famous calligraphers, thirty copies of the great Arabic dictionary called the '*Ayn*', twenty copies of Tabari's history, including the author's autograph copy, a hundred copies of Ibn-Dureyd's *G̃amhara*, and innumerable works of incomparable value. All these were sold or carried off by the Turks on pretext of arrears of pay, save only the private library of the ḥarim. Rare manuscripts, which scholars would give anything to possess now, went to light the fires; their bindings mended the shoes of the Turkish officers' slaves. Many torn volumes were thrown aside and got buried under the sand, and the "hills of the books" were long known near Abyār. The most fortunate were those that were exported to other countries. It says much for the literary zeal of the Fāṭimids that, in spite of this lamentable destruction, they set about collecting books with so much energy that Saladin found at least 120,000 volumes in their library a century later.

These forced sales and robberies of his treasures had reduced the unhappy caliph Mustansir to the depths of misery. Nāṣir-ed-dawla held the caliph and the remnant of the garrison besieged in Cairo and Fusṭāt, and reduced to such straits by famine and fear that the soldiers were looting the houses, the people flying by night, and the caliph's own household dying or fled. In 1070 his daughters and their mother took refuge, even in Baghdād, to escape starvation. There was nothing for it but to make terms with the rebels, but even then the Turks fell out among themselves, and Nāṣir-ed-dawla burnt and sacked part of Fusṭāt, and after defeating Mustansir's

little army, who made a good fight, entered Cairo. The rebel's messenger found the caliph in his empty palace, seated on a common mat, attended by three slaves. A daughter of the celebrated grammarian Ibn-Bābshād charitably sent him two loaves a day. To such a pass had the famine and the Turkish despoilers reduced the Commander of the Faithful.

At last a state of things which could not be worse began ¹⁰⁷³ to mend. A plentiful harvest in 1073 put an end to the famine that had wasted Egypt for seven years. In the same year Nāṣir-ed-dawla was assassinated by some jealous rivals, and his body sent in pieces to various cities of the empire. The change of keepers, from one Turk to another, did little to improve the government of the



Fig. 31.—Inscription of Bedr el-Gemālī in mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn,
1077.

country, but when the caliph, at his wits' end, sent for the governor of 'Akka (Acre) to take command, a complete change came over the face of affairs. Bedr el-Gemālī, an Armenian slave of the emir G'emāl-ed-din b. 'Ammār, had risen to high office in the Syrian wars, had twice been governor of Damascus, and had successfully fought the Turks till he had become the most powerful general in Syria. He accepted Mustansir's appeal, only on condition that he brought with him his hardy Syrian troops—"the Easterns" as they were called, in distinction from the Turkish, Berber, and Sūdānī regiments of Egypt. Despising the risks of a sea-voyage in winter, when scarcely any one dared to put to sea off that coast, he sailed from

'Akka in December, 1073, reached Tinnīs with a favouring wind in four days, and landed at Damietta. On his approach the caliph summoned up courage to arrest the Turkish commander Ildeguz. Bedr then entered Cairo at the beginning of February. The Turks received him with cordiality, not knowing that he had been sent for. Each Turkish general was allotted as a victim to one or other of the Syrian officers, and next morning each of these appeared before Bedr, as was arranged, with a Turk's head in his hands. The detestable despotism was abolished in a night.

The caliph, overjoyed at his release from his oppressors, loaded his deliverer with honours, named him Amīr el-G'uyūsh or commander-in-chief, and presently added all the civil offices of state. He was, in fact, endowed with the full supreme government, and became the *alter ego* of the caliph. Bedr established himself in the Bargawān street, and set about restoring order, executing all possible rivals, and recovering for his master as much as could be discovered of the palace property. When this was done he began the reduction of the provinces ; slaughtered or subdued the Lewāta Berbers in the delta, and took Alexandria by storm ; marched into Upper Egypt, where the blacks and the Arab tribes had long done as they pleased, and restored the caliph's authority as far as Aswān. The captives were so numerous that a woman could be bought for a dīnār, and a horse for half as much again. After this ruthless and sanguinary beginning, all was quiet. The fellāhīn under his strong, just, and benevolent rule, soon began to enjoy a security and prosperity unknown for many years. In 1090 a return of taxation ordered by Bedr el-G'emālī showed that the revenue of Egypt and Syria had risen from the usual 2,000,000 or at most 2,800,000, to 3,100,000 *D.*¹. Indeed the remaining twenty years of Mustansir's reign saw nothing but peace and plenty in Egypt, though in Syria there was continual war, which threatened at one

¹ This, if it refers to the land tax of Egypt *alone*, is probably the same return as that cited by Abū-Śalih (ff. 8a-9a) as having been made

time to break over the frontier. For the first time since the reign of 'Aziz, Cairo became the home of architects. A new brick wall was built round the palace-city; the three great stone gates, the Bāb-en-Naṣr, Bāb-el-Futūḥ (1087), and Bāb Zawila or Zuweyla (1091) were removed and rebuilt within the new wall, and assumed the imposing appearance they wear to this day. The three gates are stated to have been the work of three brothers, architects, from Edessa, each of whom built a gate.¹ As has been seen, Yāzūrī and others employed artists from Mesopotamia and 'Irāk, and there is nothing improbable in Bedr importing architects from Edessa, which was full of his Armenian fellow-countrymen. According to Abū-Šalīḥ, however, the gates and the new wall were planned by "John the Monk" (f. 51a): but "planning" or designing (the Arabic word is explicit) does not include building,

"in the days of the kādi el-Kāhhāl" (i.e. Ibn-el-Kāhhāl, c. 1090), the details of which (for 1276 districts and 890 villages) are as follows:—

Northern Provinces.	Dinārs.	Southern Provinces.	Dinārs.
Esh-Sharkiya . . .	694,121	El-G'iziyā . . .	129,641
El-Murtāhiya . . .	70,358	El-Atfiliya . . .	39,449
Ed-Dakahlīya . . .	53,761	El-Būsīriya . . .	39,390
El-Abwāniya . . .	4,700	El-Fayyūmiya . . .	145,162
G'ezrat-Kūsanīya . . .	159,664	El-Behnesā'iya . . .	234,801
El-Gharbiya . . .	430,955	El-Ushmuneyn and Tālhā . . .	127,676
En-Semennūdīya . . .	200,657	Es-Suyūtiya [etc.] . . .	[304,834?]
El-Menūsiyyateyn . . .	140,933		
Flwa, etc. . . .	6,080	Total . . .	1,020,953
En-Nestarāwiya . . .	14,910		
Roxetta, etc. . . .	3,000	Total of North and	
G'ezrat-Benī-Naṣr . . .	62,508	South . . .	3,060,993 D.
El-Buhayra . . .	139,313		
Jlawf Rāmisā . . .	[59,080?]		
Total . . .	2,040,040		

This estimate admittedly excludes the revenue from Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnis on the northern coast, and Kūst and Nekāda (i.e. the provinces of Kūsiya and Ikhmīmiya) in Upper Egypt, the revenues of which are estimated at 60,000 D. Abū-Šalīḥ adds that in the reign of el-Āmir a poll-tax of 1½ D. was imposed, which was raised to 2 D. by Rudwān, a wezīr of el-Ilāfiẓ, no'ed for his oppression of Christians.

¹ Maḳr., i. 381.

and it is possible that the monk and the Edessa architects co-operated. The Edessa origin explains, as no Coptic source alone could do, the Byzantine appearance of these massive gateways. Edessa was long an outpost of the Roman empire against the caliphs, and its architects must have been well acquainted with the 'military



Fig. 32.—Gate of Zawila, Cairo, 1091.

architecture of Byzantium. Nor could Bedr el-Gemālī himself, after his long wars in Syria, have been ignorant of the buildings of the mediæval Romans.¹

¹ See M. van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1891.

During these twenty years the great Armenian who had rescued Mustansir from the Turks kept his weak and pleasure-loving sovereign completely under his control. When Bedr el-G'emâli died in the spring of 1094 at the age of eighty, his son Abû-l-Kâsim Shâhânsâh succeeded to his power with the title of El-Afdal. The caliph, who had seen such terrible vicissitudes of fortune, and deserved all his troubles, did not long survive his trusty minister. Mustansir died at the end¹ of December, in his sixty-eighth year and the sixty-first of his inglorious reign.

Before relating the causes which led to the fall of the Fâtimid caliphate, some account may be given of the machinery of their administration. Arabic historians are usually wanting in this class of information, which they take for granted as familiar to their readers; and it is difficult to obtain any precise statement about the details of government under the early Arab and Turkish governors. For the Fâtimid period, however, we possess a systematic outline of the military and administrative system, which, so far as it goes, is useful.²

The army was divided into three principal ranks : 1. Emîrs, who were subdivided into (*a*) gold-chain emîrs, the highest class ; (*b*) sword-bearers, who escorted the caliph on horseback ; (*c*) ordinary officers. 2. The officers of the guard, consisting of (*a*) the masters (*ustâds*) or eunuchs, who were held in high honour and given important posts ; (*b*) the "young guard," a body of about 500 picked youths of family ; and (*c*) the troops of the caliph's barracks, to the number of about 5000. 3. The regiments, each named after some caliph or wezir or

¹ 18th of Dhû'l-Higgâ, A.H. 487, or 29th Dec., 1094. A coin of Alexandria bearing the date 488 must have been issued, probably on the 1st of January, before the news of the caliph's death was known there.

² El-Kalâshandi, translated by Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten* (1879), pp. 171-222. Kalâshandi was a contemporary of Maqrîzi, but like the latter he had access to a large number of earlier authorities and documents of the Fâtimid period. He also gives a long and curious account of the numerous court ceremonies and pageants.

according to its nation, as the Hāfiẓiya, G'uyūshiya, Rūmiya (Romans, i.e. Greeks), Ṣakāliba (Slavs), Südāniya (blacks). The number of regiments was very large, and varied at different times. The pay ranged from 2 *D.* to 20 *D.* a month.

The fleet, which was stationed at Alexandria, Damietta, Ascalon and other Syrian ports, and Aydhāb on the Red Sea, numbered over seventy-five galleys, ten transports, and ten galleasses, under a high admiral.



Fig. 33.—Gate of Victory (Bāb-en-Naṣr), Cairo, 1087.

The official ministers of the caliphate were divided into two classes, the "Men of the Sword" and the "Men of the Pen."

The men of the sword superintended the army and war office, and consisted in : 1. The wezir (unless he were a civil man of the pen). 2. The "lord of the door," or high chamberlain, who stood next to the wezir, and was sometimes called the lesser wezir, and

enjoyed the privilege of presenting ambassadors. 3. The field marshal *sifetsâîn* or commander-in-chief, who commanded the whole of the forces, and looked to the protection of the palace. 4. The umbrella-bearer, a great emir, who carried the parasol of state over the caliph. 5. The sword-bearer. 6. The lance-bearer. 7. The equerries. 8. The commandant of Cairo. 9. The commandant of Migr (*Fustat*). To the men of the sword belonged also the household attendants, stewards, chamberlains, ink-bearer, and various court functionaries.

The men of the pen included (besides the wezîr, unless he belonged to the military order): 1. The chief *kâfi*, endowed with very great powers, the head of the law, director of the mint, who held his court in the mosque of 'Amr on Tuesdays and Saturdays, seated on a raised divan, with his inkstand before him, the witnesses ranged on either hand in the order of their causes, four lawyers seated in front, and five ushers to keep order. 2. The chief preacher, who presided in the hall of science. 3. The inspector of markets (*mohîtesib*), who held unrestricted control over the bazars and streets, assisted by two deputies for Cairo and Migr, supervised weights and measures, prices, and trade generally, and punished cheats and defaulters. 4. The treasurer, who presided over the Beyt-el-Mâl or state treasury, and had besides various duties, such as manumitting and marrying slaves, making contracts for building ships, etc. 5. The deputy chamberlain, who joined the "lord of the door" in introducing an ambassador to the caliph, each holding one of his hands, and never letting him loose. 6. The reader, who recited the Korân to the caliph, in season and out of season.

A lower division of the men of the pen comprised the whole body of civil servants, attached to the following departments: 1. The wezirate (unless the wezîr were a man of the sword). 2. The chancery, subdivided into the secretariate and the two branches of the record office or registry of the caliph's acts, one to take down and draft his instructions, the other to write them out in

fair copy. 3. The army pay office, which also attended to the proper mounting and furnishing of the troops. 4. The exchequer, subdivided into fourteen departments, dealing with every branch of the finances, accounts, allowances, presents, pensions, tribute, crown inheritance, royal factories, with special bureaux for Upper Egypt, Alexandria, etc. The physicians, of whom the caliph always kept four or five, and the poets, whose name was legion, also formed separate classes of the men of the pen attached to the court.

Outside these court functionaries were the local officials who governed the three divisions of the empire, Egypt, Syria, and the borders of Asia Minor. Egypt was administered by the four governors of Kūs, or Upper Egypt, Sharķiya (Bilbeys, Kalyūb, Ushmūm), Gharbiyya (Mahalla, Menūf, and Abyār), and Alexandria (including all Buheyra). The governor of Upper Egypt ranked almost next to the wezīr, and had several deputy governors under him in the various provinces. Under these were the district officials and heads of towns and villages. The management of all local affairs was entrusted to the local authorities, including the maintenance by troops and corvée labour of the irrigation canals and dams belonging specifically to the district or village; but the larger dikes, which could not be assigned to one local authority, were managed by inspectors appointed annually from Cairo, with a large staff of skilled assistants. The system reads well on paper, but in practice there was doubtless much corruption and peculation. The general testimony of the Arabic historians, however, points to a mild and even benevolent treatment of the fellāḥīn as the prevailing policy of the Fāṭimid government.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTACK FROM THE EAST

969-1171

Authorities.—As preceding; also Osāma, Bahā-ed-dīn, William of Tyre.

Monuments, Inscriptions, Coins, etc.—See preceding chapter.

SYRIA had been a dependency of Egypt, with brief intermission, since the days of Ibn-Tūlūn, but under the Fātimids the connection had been growing more and more strained. The orthodox inhabitants, especially in Damascus, strenuously repudiated the Shi'a heresy, and could be induced only by force to recognize the caliphs of Egypt. The Fātimid conquest by Gā'far b. Fellāh in 969 was immediately followed by revolt, and the intervention of the Karmātīs practically severed Syria from Egypt for the next eight years. Even after the caliph 'Azīz in person had led a successful campaign in 977, and quashed the insurrection under Aftegin, Damascus was still but nominally under the control of Egypt, and it was not till 988 that the Syrian capital was thoroughly subdued for the time.¹ The northernmost city of the Fātimid empire was then Tripolis.¹ Antioch still belonged to the eastern Roman empire; and Aleppo was in the possession of the last descendants of the

¹ The earliest Fātimid coinage at Tripolis dates from 974-5; the latest is 1101-2. But the Syrian coinage of the Fātimids was too intermittent (or too few examples have come down) for it to be taken as a chronological guide. The most regular mints were Fileşin (i.e. Ramla), Tyre, and Tripolis. Under el-Āmir, when Syria had nearly all fallen to the Crusaders, 'Asḳalān (Ascalon) became the Syrian mint of the Fātimids, 1109-17.

Hamdānids, ever sworn foes to Egypt, and protected by the Romans as a necessary buttress to Antioch, which the emperor Nicephorus had recently recovered from the Arabs (969). When Mangūtegin, the Fātimid general, besieged Aleppo for thirteen months in 993-4, after defeating an army of 50,000 men despatched to its relief ⁹⁹⁴ by the Roman governor of Antioch, the emperor Basil II himself, abandoning a campaign against the Bulgarians, came to its support. At his approach the Egyptians retired on Damascus, and the emperor sacked Hims and Sheyzar and made an unsuccessful attack on Tripolis. A parade of 250 Roman prisoners at Cairo was the only triumph enjoyed on this occasion by the caliph 'Azīz.

Under Hākim, after two victories over the Romans, by sea off Tyre and by land near Apamea, peace was concluded for ten years with the emperor: but Syria ⁹⁹⁸ remained in a chronic state of revolt. Tyre had to be reduced, and the G'arrāḥ family at Ramla set up a rival caliph in the sherif of Mekka, with the title of er-Rashid; defeated the Fātimid army near Dārūm; and were with difficulty brought to some degree of submission by judicious bribes and diplomacy. Nominally, the Egyptian caliph acquired some prestige by the acknowledgment of his sovereignty in the mosques of the Euphrates valley, from Mōgil to Kūfa, by the Arab ('Okeylid) ruler Kirwāsh; but this temporary adhesion ¹⁰¹¹ was summarily severed by the Buweyhid sultan of 'Irāk. Nor was the brief accession of Aleppo to the Fātimid party in 1011, when the Hamdānids were expelled by their freedman, Ibn-Lu'lū, of much value. Such homage was in reality in the nature of an appeal for help against some pressing danger.

On the accession of Zāhir, the authority of the ¹⁰²¹ Egyptian government was scarcely felt in Syria. The capable commander of their army, Anūshtegin ed-Dizbiri, the governor of Caesarea, had to face an insurrection under Hassān b. Daghfal in Palestine, another under Sinān around Damascus, and the hostility of Sālih b. Mirdās, who took Aleppo in 1025 from the Princess

Royal's Indian slave Firuz, by whom the city had been held for the last three years. Anushtegin at last defeated¹⁰³⁹ and killed Salih at the battle of Ukhuvana near Tiberias, drove Hassân into exile among the Romans, and restored most of Syria, except the north, to the Egyptian caliph. Another defeat of the Mirdâsid Arabs¹⁰⁴⁰ on the Orontes, near Sheyzar, gave Aleppo¹ and the rest of northern Syria, except the Roman territory, to his master the child caliph Mustansîr, and Anushtegin's firm rule not only preserved peace and order in Damascus, but induced the governor of Harran, by the Euphrates, to proclaim the caliphate of Egypt in the mosques of Harran, Sarag, and Rakka. Meanwhile a ten years' peace had been concluded with the emperor Michael IV, who was allowed to complete the restoration of the ruined Church of the Resurrection in 1048.

¹⁰⁴¹ The government of Anushtegin marks high-water in the Fatimid relations with Syria. From 1043 their power rapidly declined. The new governor, Nasir-ed-dawla b. Iamdan, afterwards notorious in Egypt, found himself powerless at Damascus; Palestine was once more in revolt under Hassân; and two attempts to recover Aleppo from the Mirdâsids, in 1048 and 1049, proved fruitless, though 30,000 Egyptian troops were sent in the second year. It is true the Mirdâsid Mo'izz-ed-dawla afterwards submitted, sent the caliph 40,000 D., and presently made his home at Cairo;² but his nephew carried on the struggle in 1060, after which Aleppo was never a Fatimid city.

A greater power, however, was rapidly advancing from the east, which merged all minor contests in a struggle for bare existence. The Seljuk Turkmans had subdued Persia, and in 1055 their leader, Tughril Beg, was recognised at Baghdad in the Friday prayers as the caliph's lieutenant, or in other words master. The Seljuks were sternly orthodox and zealous for the faith.³

¹ There is a coin of Aleppo A.H. 429 (1037-8), with the name of Mustansîr, in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.

² Coins of Aleppo from 1049 to 1055 bear the name of the caliph Mustansîr.

to extirpate the Egyptian heresy was their sacred duty. To reduce Syria, as a first step, was no very difficult task, in its divided and rebellious state. The Selguk general Atsız conquered Palestine and entered Jerusalem in 1071, and after laying siege to Damascus annually for five years and destroying the crops around, at last, with the connivance of one of its inveterate factions, acquired the city in 1076.¹ Damascus never again belonged to the Fātimids.² The only capable leader in Egypt, Bedr el-G'emālī, was fully occupied in recovering the Nile valley for his indolent master, and had no force to spare for Syria. He bribed Atsız to abstain from crossing the frontier—he had advanced as far as Gaza and el-'Arish, the border town—and meanwhile prepared ships to convey the Fātimid court to Alexandria if the worst should happen. Had Atsız been adequately supported from the east, the fears of the great wezīr might have been realized, and the Selgūks might have extinguished the Shi'a dynasty a hundred years before its actual fall. As it was, as soon as Egypt was pacified, the troops were free to be employed in Syria, and Damascus was at once besieged. The Egyptians had to retire on the approach of Tutuš (the brother of Melik Shāh, the greatest of the Selguk sultans), who was appointed viceroy in Syria and entered Damascus in 1079. Still undaunted, Bedr himself, despite his seventy years, led a fresh campaign against the invaders in 1085, but his siege of Damascus was equally fruitless. He lived, however, to see some minor successes on the coast, where the Fātimid armies sent by his order took Tyre, which had been many years in revolt, and re-conquered 'Akka and G'ubeyl.³

The deaths of Bedr el-G'emālī and the caliph Mustanṣır made little difference in the situation. Bedr was succeeded in the wezirate by his son el-Afḍal Shāhānshāh, who hastily set the youngest of the seven sons of the late caliph on the throne with the title of el-Musta'li (1094—1101).⁴

¹ The latest Fātimid coin of Damascus bears the date 1066-7.

² Abū-l-Ḵāsim Aḥmad el-Musta'li-bi-llāh, "the exalted of God," struck coins at Miṣr (1095—1100-1), Alexandria, 'Akka, Tyre, and Tripolis (1101).

He thought a youth of eighteen more amenable to management than a mature man. The eldest son Nizār, who was close upon fifty, naturally resented this supersession, and set himself up at Alexandria, with the



Fig. 34.—Sünar of el-Musta'li, Tripolis, 1101.

governor's approval, as the Imām el-Muṣṭafā¹; and although he was forced to surrender a year later and vanished in his brother's prisons, he was long revered as the true Imām and head of the Shi'a by the Ismā'ilians, especially by the "Assassins" of Persia. On Musta'li's death at the close of 1101 his son el-Āmir² (1101-1131), a child of five, was duly enthroned by el-Afdal, who had a little seat made on the pommel of his own saddle and rode through Cairo with the baby caliph seated in front. The wezir's power was now absolute, and for twenty years he governed Egypt as he pleased, as his father had done before him. Indeed from 1074 to 1121 these two great Armenians were, in all but name, kings of Egypt, and to their mild just rule, as much as to their energy and firm control, the country owed half a century of internal quiet and prosperity.

¹ El-Imām el-Muṣṭafū-li-dīn-llāh. Coins were issued in his name by the Assassins of Alamūt, who pretended to be his descendants; one is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, with the mint Kursī zarin, "the Golden Throne," and date 4[9]5 A.H. A reputed son of Nizār is said to have struck coins as caliph in the Yenien with the title Imām Muḥammad b. Nizār. He was crucified at Cairo with the ex-wezir Ma'mūn and his five brothers in 1128. Another son, el-Ḥasan, raised an army in Maghrib (Barqa, perhaps), and was defeated and killed by Ḥāfiq's troops.

² Abū-'Alī el-Manṣūr el-Āmir-bi-ahkāmi-llāh, "the ruler by the decrees of God." His coins were issued at Miṣr (1101-30), el-Mo'izzlyā el-Kāhira (Cairo, 1114-30), Alexandria (1101-30), Kūf (1123-4), Ascalon (1109-16), and Tyre (1102-23). The epithet el-Mo'izzlyā ("of Mo'izz") applied to Cairo is also used by Naṣir-i-Khusrau in 1046.

The one engrossing topic of Afdal's rule was the danger from the east. Not from the Selgüks, for on the deaths of Melik Shāh (1092) and Tutūsh (1095) their empire broke into fragments, and the war of succession that

paralyzed their influence in Persia
was echoed by a lesser rivalry between
the sons of Tutūsh, one of whom
(Duğak) held Damascus, whilst the
other (Ruḍwān) ruled at Aleppo and even had the Fātimid's name proclaimed in the mosques in the hope of winning Egyptian support against his brother. But though the Selgük

power was broken in Syria, the impulse that brought them westward was still strong, and numerous bodies of hardy Turkmāns were gathered round the standards of daring chiefs, trained in the Selgük wars, and ready to embark on fresh conquests whenever a fresh leader should appear who could unite them for a common purpose. Meanwhile, in the lull between the Selgük hurricane and the gathering storm which was to break upon Egypt in the armies of Nür-ed-din, a new force appeared which at first threatened to carry all before it. The temporary paralysis of the Muhammadau dynasties in Persia and Syria, and the degenerate luxuriousness of the Fātimids in Egypt, offered an opportunity for invasion. In 1096 "the first Crusade began its eastward march; in 1098 the great cities of Edessa and Antioch and many fortresses were taken; in 1099 the Christians regained possession of Jerusalem itself. In the next few years the greater part of Palestine and the coast of Syria, Tortosa, 'Akka, Tripolis, and Sidon (1110) fell into the hands of the Crusaders, and the conquest of Tyre in 1124 marked the apogee of their power. It was the precise moment when a successful invasion from Europe was possible. A generation earlier, the Selgük power was inexpugnable. A generation later, a Zengi or a Nür-ed-din, firmly established in the Syrian seats of the Selgüks, would probably have driven the invaders into the sea. A lucky star led the preachers of the first Crusade to



Fig. 35.—Glass Weight
of el-Amir.

seize an opportunity of which they hardly realized the significance. Peter the Hermit and Urban II. chose the auspicious moment with a sagacity as unerring as if they had made a profound study of Asiatic politics. The Crusade penetrated like a wedge between the old wood and the new, and for a while seemed to cleave the trunk of Mohammediān empire into splinters."¹

When the news of the approaching Crusade reached Egypt, Afdal welcomed it as a source of strength against the Selḡūks, and seems to have even anticipated an alliance with the Christians against the common enemy.²

Emboldened by the prospect, he marched into Palestine ¹⁰⁹⁸ and took Jerusalem after more than a month's siege from its Selḡūk commandants, the brothers Sukmān and Il-Ghāzi.³ The dismissal of these valiant defenders only paved the way for the Crusaders, and when the Christian conquerors massacred 70,000 defenceless Muslims in the Holy City, Afdal at last understood what he had to expect from his presumed allies. He received a further lesson ¹⁰⁹⁹ when the Franks surprised him before Ascalon, and ¹¹⁰⁰ Aug. ¹² attacking the Egyptians, in spite of a flag of truce, utterly routed them, captured their camp and baggage, and set fire to a wood in which many of the fugitives had sought refuge. Afdal sailed hurriedly for Egypt, and Ascalon bribed the Franks to leave it alone. So long as he lived, however, the Armenian wezir waged war ¹¹⁰¹ against the invaders. In 1101 the Crusaders were again ¹¹⁰² victorious near Jaffa, but in 1102 an Egyptian army, composed probably of some of Bedr's Syrian veterans, had their full revenge near Ascalon, defeated Baldwin and 700 knights, and compelled the king of Jerusalem to take refuge in a bed of rushes, whence he was smoked out and hunted as far as Jaffa. Ramla once more became a Saracen city. In the following year, several engagements took place. Afdal sent his son, who beat the

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 24, 25.

² He may even have proposed to become a Christian in order to cement the alliance. Cp. *Hist. Occ. des Croisades*, iv. 48, 78.

³ They afterwards founded the Ortukid dynasties at Māridīn and Keylā in Diyār-Bekr, one of which subsisted to the time of Timūr.

Franks at Yāzūr (when Baldwin hid in a haystack), took Ramla, and sent 300 knights as prisoners to Egypt, after killing the rest. A force of 4000 Egyptian horse was sent to Jaffa the same year, supported by a fleet; but the Crusaders were also reinforced, and no effort of the Egyptians could arrest their progress. By 1104 most of Palestine was in Christian hands, except a few coast fortresses, and of these 'Akka and G'ubeyl fell in that year. The struggle centred round Ramla for some time, and the Atābeg or Selgük governor of Damascus, Tughtegin, made common cause with the Fātimids in endeavouring to save the remnant of Muslim power in the Holy Land; but after an indecisive battle between Jaffa and Ascalon in September, 1104, both sides retired exhausted. After 1109, when Tripolis at length fell after an heroic siege,¹¹⁰⁹ Tyre became the hope of Islām and resisted all attempts of the Crusaders until 1124, when Ascalon remained the northern outpost of Egypt and almost the only relic of her former sway in Syria. In 1117 King Baldwin even¹¹¹⁷ invaded Egypt itself, burnt part of Faramā, and reached Tinnis, when his fatal illness compelled him to return. The Egyptians attempted no reprisals, and henceforth, until the end of the Fātimid dynasty, defensive diplomacy was the prevailing policy of their wezīrs.

The wise rule of Afdal came to an end when his¹¹²¹ sovereign, growing to manhood, chafed in leading strings, and had the great wezīr assassinated in the street at the close of 1121. The caliph visited the dying man and exhibited the deepest sympathy; and, as soon as his eyes were closed, spent forty days in plundering his house of the treasures which he had amassed during his long administration. The historian G'emāl-ed-din, who was acquainted with one of Afdal's officers, declares that the wezīr's wealth comprised 6,000,000 *D.* in gold, 250 sacks (5 bushels each) of Egyptian silver dirhenis, 75,000 atlas (satin) dresses, 30 camel-loads of gold caskets from 'Irāk, etc., together with an amber frame or lay figure on which to display the state robes. The milking of his vast herds was farmed out during his last year for 30,000 *D.* Among his institutions was that of a sort of

order of chivalry, called the "squires of the chamber," a body of youths furnished each with a horse and arms, and pledged to execute without faltering any command he gave them. Those who distinguished themselves were promoted to the rank of emīr. His successor, Ibn-el-Batāḥī, styled el-Ma'mūn, though a capable financier and a tolerant minister, could not keep his place; he was ¹¹²⁵ imprisoned in 1125 and afterwards crucified.¹ The caliph now tried the experiment of being his own wezir, aided

only by the monk Abū-Nejāḥ b. Kennā, who farmed the taxes of the Christians for 100,000 *D.* The monk became general collector of revenue, but gave himself such airs that the caliph had him flogged to death with thongs.

El-Āmir's sole rule made him universally detested. Oppression of every kind and wanton executions showed the innate cruelty of his nature, and in November, 1130, ¹¹³⁰ as he rode back from the Hawdaḡ—a delightful pleasure-house on the island of Rōdā, which he had built for his favourite Bedawi mistress, and which rivalled his charming rosaries at Kalyūb—the caliph was set upon by ten of the Ismā'ilian Assassins, and died of his wounds the same night. Apart from his taste in roses, the most notable fact about his private life is that 5000 sheep, at 3 *D.* a head, were consumed in his kitchen every month.

El-Āmir left no son, and his cousin el-Hāfiẓ² succeeded him (1131-1149), at first as regent, pending the delivery of one of the late caliph's wives who was with child.

¹ He built the Grey Mosque (G'āmi' el-Akmar) in 1121-2, of which the ruins are still to be seen in the Beyn-el-Kasreyn.

² Abū-l-Meymūn 'Abdu-el-Meǵid el-Hāfiẓ-li-dīn-llāh, "the guardian of the religion of God," struck coins only at Miṣr (Fustāt) and Alexandria, with dates from 1131 to 1148-9.



Fig. 36.—Dinār of el-Āmir, Kūs,
1123 or 1125.

Unluckily for her, she bore a daughter, but before the regent became actual caliph a curious interregnum occurred. Afḍal's son Abū-'Alī, nicknamed Kātīfāt, who had been made wezir by the overwhelming voice of the army, was a staunch Imāmian or Twelve-Imāms-man, a believer in the return of the Mahdī, and a complete sceptic as to the Fāṭimid claim to the caliphate. He shut up the regent in the palace, and had the prayers recited and the coinage struck in the

name of no living ruler but of the predicted Mahdī, or Imām el-Muntazar ("the expected").¹ This farce went on for a year, during which Kātīfāt exercised plenary powers. He was not a bad ruler, nevertheless — the tradition of good

government was strong in his family;—he was just and benevolent, tolerant and generous to the Copts, and a great lover of poetry. His autocracy could not last long, however, with the rightful caliph intriguing against him in the palace; and in December, 1131, whilst riding out to play polo, he was assassinated by some of the caliph's personal corps or "young guard."

El-Hāfiẓ now entered upon his real caliphate, at the ¹¹³¹

¹ Coins bearing the name of "the Imām Muḥammad Abū-l-Kāsim el-Muntazār-li-amri-llāh, commander of the faithful," were struck at el-Mo'izziyā el-Kāhira ("the victorious city of Mo'izz, i.e. Cairo), Miṣr (i.e. Fustūt), and Alexandria, in A.H. 525 (1131 A.D.), and another, struck at Miṣr in 526 (Nov.-Dec., 1131, for the wezir was assassinated on Dec. 8), bears not only the titles of "the Imām el-Mahdī el-Kāim-bi-amri-llāh Ḥuḡġet-Allah-'alā-l-Ālamīn," which denote the same predicted personage as el-Muntazar, but also presents the name of "el-Aḍḍal Abū-'Alī Ahmād" as "his lieutenant (nāib) and khalifa," titles which indicate an advance in the wezir's pretensions. See Makrizi, Khīṭāt, i. 406; Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Or. Coins in the British Museum*, vol. iv., pp. ix.-xiii., 55-6; Sauvage and Lane-Poole, *The Twelfth Imām on the Coinage of Egypt*, J.R.A.S., N.S., vii. 140-151.



Fig. 37.—Dinār of "the expected Imām," Cairo, 1131.

age of 57, with Yānis, an Armenian slave of Afdal, as *wezir*. Yānis was a strict disciplinarian, a hard, upright, intelligent, and detested man. In nine months he was found too overbearing, and the caliph had him poisoned by the court doctor. After this, perhaps in order to avoid arousing jealousy among the troops, or to escape the tyranny of a too powerful minister, Hāfiẓ tried for a time to do without any *wezir*, and proved himself no mean administrator, till the quarrels of his sons over the appointment to the heirship brought about civil war between the rival battalions of the Reyhāniya and the G'uyūshiya black soldiery, to whom the caliph was forced to sacrifice his elder son. The victorious G'uyūshiya mustered to the number of 10,000 in the Beyn-el-Kasreyn square, and demanded the head of prince Hāsan, who had caused the deaths of many emirs. The helpless caliph summoned his two court doctors : Abū-Mansūr the Jew refused to do the job, but his Christian colleague, Ibn-Kīfā, mixed a deadly draught, which Hāsan was forced to drink. Ibn-Kīfā was a man of considerable attainments in science, apart from his practical acquaintance with toxicology ; he held several lucrative court appointments, such as master of the wardrobe, and possessed a charming house on the canal ; but the caliph could not endure him after he had poisoned his son, and the too subservient doctor was cast into prison and executed soon after his victim.

The remaining years of Fātimid rule in Egypt were marred by the continual contests of rival ministers, supported by factions in the army. The troops set up as *wezir* Bahrām, an Armenian Christian, who was nevertheless styled "the Sword of Islām," but his wholesale appointment of his fellow countrymen to all the offices and departments of state, and the consequent indulgence of Christians, led to his expulsion, together with 2000 of his Armenian protégés,¹ and his eventual

¹ The number may be exaggerated, but it should be noted that Bedr al-Gā'īnālī brought an Armenian bodyguard with him to Cairo, and that for more than half a century the government had been in Armenian

adoption of the monastic life.¹ His successor, Ruḍwān,¹¹³⁷ a gallant soldier and a poet, was the first to assume the title of king (melik), afterwards used by all Fāṭimid wezirs : he was styled el-Melik el-Afdal and Seyyid el-Āgall ("the most excellent king and most illustrious noble"), but his titles did not save him from a fall : he was thrown into prison, and though after ten years he¹¹³⁹ contrived to bore his way through the prison wall with the proverbial iron nail, and assembling many followers established himself in the Grey Mosque (el-Ākmar) in front of the great palace of the caliph, he was cut down and his head was thrown into his wife's lap. A horrible¹¹⁴⁸ story is told that his body was cut into small pieces and devoured by budding warriors, in the belief that they would thus assimilate his pith and courage.

The last year of the old caliph's reign—if reign it could be called when his authority hardly extended beyond the palace and was only maintained there by his drunken negro guard—was passed in a scene of constant faction and tumult ; the streets were unsafe, and the people lived in a perpetual terror. The caliph was now 75 years of age, and suffered grievously from indigestion. His physician invented a drum, cunningly composed of the seven metals, welded at the exact moment when the sounding of each of the seven planets promised fortunate results ; and whenever this magic drum was beaten, the caliph's flatulence was relieved. This interesting machine was in the palace at the time of Saladin's conquest, and one of his Kurdish soldiers carelessly thrummed it, in ignorance of its peculiar properties. The effect was so astonishing that the man dropped the drum in confusion, and it was broken.

There is no doubt that under the Fāṭimids, on the whole, the Christians of Egypt were treated with unusual consideration, far more than under succeeding dynasties. Setting aside the persecutions of Hākim, which were merely part of a general tyranny, the Copts and

hands, no doubt to the great increase and aggrandisement of the Armenian colony.

¹ Abū-Ṣāliḥ, f. 84a.

Armenians had never before received so much benevolence from Muslim rulers. Under 'Aziz they were favoured beyond the Mohammadans and were appointed to the highest offices of state. Under Mustansir and his successors, Armenians (whether Christians or not) protected their fellow-countrymen and through them the other Christians during the long period when the vezir was in their hands. Most of the financial posts of government were then, as always, in the possession of Copts. They were the farmers (*dāmin*) of taxes, and the controllers of accounts; and their ability made them indispensable. Throughout the reigns of the later caliphs we read constantly of the building and restoration of churches, recorded by the Christian Abū-Salih, whose contemporary history accurately reflects the state of Egypt at the close of the Fātimid rule. The caliph Hāfiẓ even welcomed the Armenian patriarch at his usual public levees on Mondays and Thursdays every week, to receive his instruction in history, and continued the practice up to his death. Hāfiẓ was fond of visiting monasteries, where a manzara or belvedere was sometimes erected looking on the secluded gardens and commanding a view of "the blessed Nile," and he and his son Zāfir, and the last caliph 'Ādīd, used for this reason to frequent the monastery of Our Lady at el-'Adawiya, eighteen miles south of Cairo, and contributed to its support in return for the monks' hospitality. The caliph Amīr, a great lover of gardens, delighted in the monastery of Nahyā, west of Giza, where he built a belvedere, and whence he used to go out hunting. Every time he went he gave the monks a thousand dirhems. He amused himself by standing in the priest's place in the church, but he refused to bow in order to enter the low door, and compromised matters by stooping and going in backwards.¹ The revenue of the Egyptian churches, largely derived from Fātimid gifts, amounted in 1180 to 2923 £, and 4820 sacks (of 5 bushels) of corn, and they owned 915 acres of land.

¹ Abū-Salih, fl. 26, 7a, 46b, 61-2, etc.

On the death of Hāfiẓ in October 1149, his youngest son ez-Zāfir¹ was set on the throne. He was a gay,

handsome, careless youth of 16, who thought more of girls and songs than of arms and politics, and was wholly managed by the shrewd wezir Ibn-es-Sälär, a Kurd and an orthodox Sunni, who was styled el-Meliķ el-'Adil. He had driven out the caliph's nominee, Ibn-Masäl, and was consequently hated by ez-Zāfir

(whose "young guard" he suppressed and well-nigh exterminated in 1150), and as heartily detested by the people, whose lives were never safe from his executioners. His assassination by his wife's grandson, Naṣr, followed by the murder of the caliph by the same treacherous hands, belongs to one of the darkest chapters of Egyptian history. We have the story from the pen of a contemporary, the Arab chief Osāma, who used to hawk cranes and herons with Hāfiẓ's court, was the guest of Ibn-es-Sälär, and the intimate, if not instigator, of his murderer.² The wezir's skull was placed in the Museum of Heads in the finance department by the overjoyed caliph, who gave the handsome young assassin twenty silver plates covered each with 20,000 *D.*, and encouraged him to follow up his first essay in the fine art. The suggestion was that he should make away with his own father and fellow-conspirator 'Abbās, who had succeeded to the wezirate of his murdered stepfather, Ibn-es-Sälär. Naṣr was not indisposed to the second crime, and 'Abbās, scenting danger, prepared to poison his son. The strained situation was relieved by the murder of the trusting caliph at a friendly entertainment in the young villain's own house. The next day Osāma was sitting in the ¹¹⁵⁴ palace porch, when he suddenly heard the clash of

¹¹⁵³
Apr.



Fig. 38.
Glass weight of ez-Zāfir.

¹ Abū-Mansūr Ismā'īl ez-Zāfir-li-'adāi-dīnī-līlāh, "the conqueror of the enemies of God's religion," struck coins only at Miṣr and Alexandria, dated from 1149-50 to 1153-4.

² See H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Osāma*, 205-260.

swords : it was his friend 'Abbās with his thousand swordsmen, who had gone to the palace ostensibly to inquire for the vanished caliph, and was now massacring the caliph's brothers, whom he had the assurance to tax with the mysterious crime. The baby heir was displayed to the weeping court mounted on the wezir's shoulder, and the soldiers shouted their mercenary homage. So ghastly was the scene that one of the old janitors of the palace died of terror behind his door with the key in his hand. Cairo rose in revolt, there was

fighting in the streets,
and the very women
and children of the
harīms threw stones
from the windows upon
the wezir's retainers,
who immediately de-
serted him. 'Abbās
could not withstand
the storm of indigna-
tion and vengeance,



Fig. 39.
Dinar of ez-Zāfir, Miṣr, 1149.

and fled towards Syria.¹ On the way he was surprised and killed by the Franks, probably those of Montréal or of Karak by the Dead Sea, who had been set on his track by one of the murdered caliph's sisters. The source of all this tragedy, the inhuman Nasr, was sold by the Templars to the avengers for 60,000 *D.*, sent to Cairo in an iron cage, tortured by the women of the court, paraded through the city without nose or ears, crucified alive at the Bāb-Zawila, and left to hang there for many months.

The poor little child of four years, who entered upon his caliphate amidst all these horrors, and nearly died of fright on the awful day of his accession, was proclaimed with the title of el-Fāiz (1154-1160).² During the tumult

¹ A graphic account of these events is given by the eye-witness Osāma, possibly the Iago of the tragedy (Derenbourg, *Vie*, 238-258).

² Abū-l-Kāsim 'Isā el-Fāiz-bi-naṣri-llāh, "the overcomer by God's help." His coins were from the mints of Miṣr and Alexandria, 1154-5 to 1160.

that succeeded the murder of his kindred, the women of the palace had cut off their hair in mourning and sent it—the strongest possible sign of entreaty in a Muslim—to the emir Talai' ibn-Ruzzik, the governor of Ushmuneyn, imploring him to come to the rescue. It was his advance, supported by the Arab tribes of the desert, and joined by the Sūdāni troops of the household, many emirs, and the general mob of Cairo, that had compelled the instant flight of 'Abbās. Waving the women's tresses upon his lance, Ibn-Ruzzik entered Cairo and took possession of the Dār-el-Mā'mūn, the sumptuous palace of 'Abbās and before him of Ibn-el-Baṭāḥi.¹ He went to the room of the murderer Nasr, raised a flagstone pointed out in the pavement, and there found the body of the murdered Zāfir, which he interred in the mausoleum of the caliphs amid universal lamentation. Then he set about restoring order, punishing the guilty, executing the truculent generals who had made havoc in Cairo for so many years, and establishing a reign of law.

El-Melik es-Sāliḥ, as he was now styled, was a strong man, and Egypt was sorely in need of strong men at that time. Ascalon, her last outpost in Palestine, had fallen away from her during the divisions and confusion that followed upon Ibn-es-Sälär's assassination. It had long been a source of great solicitude, frequently attacked by the kings of Jerusalem, and doggedly defended by a large garrison, which was renewed twice a year from Egypt. The hurried return of one of these six-months' commanders, 'Abbās, to enjoy the fruits of his stepfather's assassination, left it comparatively unprotected; the Christians seized the occasion, and with the capture of Ascalon in the summer of 1153 vanished the last hold of the Fāṭimids on Palestine. That the Crusading rule had not been extended over Egypt itself was chiefly due to the growing power of the Turkish states on the east. The king of Jerusalem was too closely occupied, first with the savage onslaughts of Zengi, the Atābeg of Mōṣil, who

¹ It was converted by Saladin in 1177 into the Ḥanafī "College of the Swordmakers" (*Maḳr.* ii. 365-6).

had joined Aleppo to his dominions on the Tigris and Euphrates, harried Syria and defeated the Crusaders with great slaughter at Athārib in 1130, and had finally taken Edessa, "the conquest of conquests," in 1144.¹ After the death of Zengi two years later, his son Nūr-ed-din succeeded to his post as champion of Islām in Syria, and greatly strengthened his position by the annexation in 1154 of Damascus, which had long been in defensive alliance with the Crusaders. The collapse of the second Crusade under the emperor Conrad and Louis VII had disheartened and discredited the Franks; and the establishment of so strong a power as Nūr-ed-din's kingdom at Aleppo and Damascus in the immediate north and east rendered the position of the Jerusalem kingdom extremely insecure. Had Egypt been strong, had Egypt been of the same orthodox creed, a combination with Damascus would doubtless have driven the Crusaders to the coast—as such a union did a little later. The Egyptian wezirs were fully alive to the value of Nūr-ed-din's support, and Ibn-es-Sälär had opened negotiations with him through the mediation of Osāma, who was well-known at both courts. But the weak point of Nūr-ed-din was excessive caution, and his ambition was satisfied with the ample dominions he possessed, without venturing upon wider schemes. Moreover, whilst as a notably devout Muslim he was bound to wage the Holy War against the infidels, his very piety raised scruples against any alliance with the schismatic caliph of Egypt. Thus it fell out that whilst the fear of Nūr-ed-din restrained the Franks from invading Egypt,² the horror of heresy withheld the sultan of Damascus from co-operation with Egypt against the common enemy.

Neither Damascus nor Jerusalem could afford to let Egypt fall into the hands of the other, and thus we find Cairo becoming the centre of diplomatic activity. The

¹ See an outline of Zengi's career in Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, 35-61.

² The Sicilian fleet made a descent on Tinnis in 1153, and again in 1155, but after plundering the coast cities it attempted no serious occupation of the country.

wezir Şâlih ibn-Ruzzik was eager for an alliance with Nûr-ed-dîn, and his pourparlers, expressed in elegant Arabic verse addressed to his friend Osâma, who was now again at Damascus, enlarged on a victory won by the Egyptian army under Dirghâm near Gaza over the Franks in March, 1158, extolled the valour and numbers ¹¹⁵⁸ of the troops and ships of Egypt, and urged Nûr-ed-dîn to bestir himself to similar efforts, sketching a glorious campaign of combined triumphs.¹ He got nothing but evasive replies, couched in vague poetic metaphor, from Osâma; Nûr-ed-dîn evidently distrusted the Egyptian proposals. Ibn-Ruzzik even sent a formal embassy in October to Damascus, with handsome presents and a collection of the wezir's war-songs, offering 70,000 *D.* towards the Holy War, but wholly in vain.

Failing in his policy of combined action against the Crusaders, Ibn-Ruzzik was yet successful in maintaining order in Egypt itself. "He was eminent by his personal merit," says Ibn-Khalikân, "profuse in largesse, accessible to suitors, a generous patron to men of talent, and a

good poet." His verse was collected in two volumes, and he had a bad habit of reciting it to his friends, not without retaliation. Like other wezirs, he built a mosque, the ruins of which are still to be seen close to the Bâb-Zawila, though much of the decoration is attributed to a later restoration. He was not above avarice, however, and farmed the taxes to the highest bidders on six months' tenures to the great injury of the fellâhin. He might have long survived their discontent, but he ran a more serious risk in imposing a strict regimen upon the caliph's household. The little caliph Fâiz had died in July, 1160, at the age of eleven, after six years of virtual ¹¹⁶⁰ captivity and constant epileptic seizures. His successor,

Fig. 40.—Glass weight of el-'Âqid.



¹ See the poetical correspondence in the autobiography of Osâma, and Derenbourg *Vie d'Ousâma*, 285-295.

el-Ādīd¹ (1160–1171), the last of the Fāṭimid caliphs, was only nine, and was chosen from the various possible heirs simply because his childhood made him easy to manage. But the wezir had to reckon with the women of the hārīm, who hated his rigorous control; and an aunt of the caliph succeeded in procuring the great man's assassination. As Ibn-Ruzzik lay dying, he begged the child to send the guilty woman to be punished, and had her executed before his eyes. His last words were a regret that he had not conquered Jerusalem and exterminated the Franks, and a warning to his son to beware of Shāwar, the Arab governor of Upper Egypt. The regret and the warning were well founded. Shāwar deposed and executed the wezir's son, el-Ādīl Ruzzik, at the beginning of 1163, and within the year the Christian king of Jerusalem was in Egypt.

The interference of Amalric was the result of a fresh change in the wezirate. Shāwar was driven from Cairo by the popular favourite, Dirghām, a Lakhmi Arab, who had successfully commanded the troops against the Crusaders at Gaza, and held the post of colonel of the Barkiyya battalion and "lord of the door"—an office second only to that of wezir. Shāwar fled to Nūr-ed-din and implored his help. He offered not only to pay the cost of an expedition, but promised a third of the revenues of Egypt in the form of an annual tribute.² The king of Syria was not indifferent to the importance of obtaining a hold upon Egypt: he knew that it was the master-key of the political situation and would form a prolific source of revenue. Yet he hesitated to accept Shāwar's overtures. Distrust of the man himself, and apprehension of the risks to which an expedition would be exposed when marching through the desert on the Crusaders' flank, made him pause. Events, however, moved too fast for his prudence. Dirghām quarrelled

¹ Abū-Muhammad 'Abdallāh el-Āqīd-li-dīn-llāh, "the strengthener of the religion of God." His few coins were struck at Miṣr (1161 and 1164–5), Cairo (1160, 1167–1171), and Alexandria (1167–71).

² The following account of the conquest of Egypt by Nūr-ed-din's armies is slightly abridged from Lane-Poole, *Life of Saladin*, pp. 81–97.

with Amalric over the yearly subsidy (which had apparently been paid of late by the wezirs of Egypt to the Franks to stave off a Christian invasion¹), and the new king of Jerusalem with prompt decision invaded Egypt. Dirghām, after a severe defeat near Bilbeys, ingeniously avoided total discomfiture by breaking down the dams and causeways and flooding the country with the imprisoned waters of the Nile, then at its height. Amalric had already retired to Palestine, but half satisfied with some sort of composition, when Dirghām, hearing of Shāwar's negotiations at Damascus, perceived his error in not conciliating the Latin king, and hastened to proffer an eternal alliance, to be cemented by increased tribute. This step must have been known to Nūr-ed-din : fortified by an auspicious consultation of the Korān, he immediately cast his former scruples to the winds ; and before Amalric could intervene, Shāwar was on the march to Egypt, supported by a strong force ¹¹⁶⁴ of Turkmāns from Damascus, led by Shirkūh, with his Apr. nephew Saladin on his staff.

The Egyptians were defeated at Bilbeys, but rallied again under the walls of Cairo. For several days indecisive conflicts took place, Shāwar holding Fustāt, and the other the castle of Cairo. Then, to raise funds, Dirghām possessed himself of the *wakf*, the "money of the orphans," and at once the people began to fall away from him. Worse still, he was deserted by the caliph and the army. Driven to bay, for the last time he sounded the assembly. In vain "the drums beat and the trumpets blared, *ma-sha-llah!* on the battlements" : no man answered. In vain the desperate emir, surrounded by his bodyguard of 500 horse, all that remained to him of a powerful army, stood suppliant before the caliph's palace for a whole day, even until the

¹ William of Tyre calls it *annuam tributi pensionem* (*Hist.*, xix. 5), and others give the amount as 33,000 *D.* The tribute or blackmail must have been very recently instituted, for Ibn-Ruzik, who died in 1161, assuredly would have paid no such subsidy to the "infidels." Probably Shāwar began the payment in 1162, but the fact cannot be proved.

sunset call to prayer, and implored him by the memory of his forefathers to stand forth at the window and bless his cause. No answer came; the guard itself gradually dispersed, till only thirty troopers were left. Suddenly a warning cry reached him: "Look to thyself and save thy life!"—and lo! Shāwar's trumpets and drums were heard, entering from the Gate of the Bridge. Then at last the deserted leader rode out through the Zawila gate: the fickle folk hacked off his head, and bore it in triumph through the streets; his body they left to be worried by the curs. Such was the tragic end of a brave and gallant gentleman, poet, and paladin.

May Shāwar, restored to power, was eager to see the backs of the allies who had effected his reinstatement. He cautiously excluded Shirkūh from the fortified city of Cairo and kept him in the suburbs. Then safe, as he thought, within his own strong walls, he defied his ally, broke all his promises, and refused to pay the indemnity. Shirkūh was not the man to forego his rights or condone broken faith; he sent Saladin to occupy Bilbeys and the eastern province. This hostile movement compelled Shāwar in turn to appeal to Amalric. On the arrival of the Crusaders the Syrian army entrenched itself at Bilbeys, where it resisted all assaults for three months. A fortunate diversion at last came to its relief. Nūr-ed-dīn was waging a successful campaign in Palestine. After a reverse at the hands of Gilbert de Lacy and Robert Mansel, he had taken Harenc and was laying siege to Cæsarea Philippi; and Amalric was sorely wanted at home to protect his own kingdom, always dangerously exposed upon its eastern marches. Nor was Shirkūh less anxious to extricate himself from a situation where, attacked all day and every day, penned in behind weak earthworks, and running short of food, his position was neither safe nor agreeable. An armistice was accordingly arranged, and the two parties came to terms. On the 27th of Oct. October, the Syrians marched out of their camp and filed off between the lines of the allied Crusaders and Egyptians, Shirkūh himself, battle-axe in hand, bringing up the rear.

The expedition to Egypt had ended without glory, but it had accomplished its object; it had spied out the land, and Shirkūh was able to report favourably on the possibility and advantages of annexation. Egypt was a country, he said, "without men, and with a precarious and contemptible government." Its wealth and defencelessness invited aggression. The ambitious general was devoured by desire for a viceregal throne at Cairo, and from this time forth he persistently urged Nür-ed-din to authorize the conquest of Egypt. The bolder spirits at court supported his importunity, and the caliph of Baghdād accorded his blessing and encouragement to a project which involved the deposition of his heretical rival. Nür-ed-din, ever cautious, resisted these influences for a while, but at last gave way,—possibly because rumours had reached him of a closer union between Shāwar and the Franks, which soon proved to be well founded.

It was, in fact, a race for the Nile. Shirkūh started ¹¹⁶⁷, first at the beginning of 1167, with 2000 picked horsemen, and, taking the desert route by the Gazelle Valley to avoid a collision with the Franks, but encountering on the way a violent and disastrous sandstorm, reached the Nile at Atfih, some forty miles south of Cairo, where he might cross to the west bank without fear of molestation. He had hardly carried his army over, however, when Amalric appeared on the east side, having hurried from Palestine as soon as he heard of the enemy's movements. The two armies followed the opposite banks down to Cairo, where Amalric pitched his camp close to Fustāt, whilst Shirkūh took up a position exactly facing him at G'iza. There each waited for the other to begin operations. Meanwhile, Amalric took the opportunity of the wezir's amicable dispositions to place their alliance on a more formal basis. Convinced of the unstable character of the minister, he resolved to have a treaty ratified by the caliph in person. The conditions were that Egypt should pay the king 200,000 gold pieces then and there, and a further like sum at a later date, in return for his aid in expelling the enemy. On this

agreement Amalric gave his hand to the caliph's representatives, and claimed a like ratification from the caliph himself.

The introduction of Christian ambassadors to the sacred presence, where few even of the most exalted Muslims were admitted, was unprecedented ; but Amalric was in a position to dictate his own terms. Permission was granted, and Hugh of Cæsarea with Geoffrey Fulcher the Templar were selected for the unique embassy. The wezir himself conducted them with every detail of oriental ceremony and display to the Great Palace of the Fâtimids. They were led by mysterious corridors and through guarded doors, where stalwart Südânîs saluted with naked swords. They reached a spacious court, open to the sky, and surrounded by arcades resting on marble pillars ; the panelled ceilings were carved and inlaid in gold and colours ; the pavement was rich mosaic. The unaccustomed eyes of the rude knights opened wide with wonder at the taste and refinement that met them at every step ;—here they saw marble fountains, birds of many notes and wondrous plumage, strangers to the western world ; there, in a further hall, more exquisite even than the first, "a variety of animals such as the ingenious hand of the painter might depict, or the license of the poet invent, or the mind of the sleeper conjure up in the visions of the night,—such, indeed, as the regions of the East and the South bring forth, but the West sees never, and scarcely hears of." At last, after many turns and windings, they reached the throne room, where the multitude of the pages and their sumptuous dress proclaimed the splendour of their lord. Thrice did the wezir, ungirding his sword, prostrate himself to the ground, as though in humble supplication to his god ; then, with a sudden rapid sweep, the heavy curtains broidered with gold and pearls were drawn aside, and on a golden throne, robed in more than regal state, the caliph sat revealed.

The wezir humbly presented the foreign knights, and set forth in lowly words the urgent danger from without,

and the great friendship of the king of Jerusalem. The caliph, a swarthy youth emerging from boyhood,—*fusca, procerus corpore, fuscie venusta*,—replied with suave dignity. He was willing, he said, to confirm in the amplest way the engagements made with his beloved ally. But when asked to give his hand in pledge of faithfulness, he hesitated, and a thrill of indignation at the stranger's presumption ran through the listening court. After a pause, however, the caliph offered his hand—gloved as it was—to Sir Hugh. The blunt knight spoke him straight : “ My lord, troth has no covering : in the good faith of princes, all is naked and open.” Then at last, very unwillingly, as though derogating from his dignity, the caliph, forcing a smile, drew off the glove and put his hand in Hugh's, swearing word by word to keep the covenant truly and in all good faith.¹

The treaty thus ratified, Amalric attempted to throw a bridge of boats across the Nile ; but the presence of the enemy on the other side defeated the plan, and he resorted to another. Descending to where the river forked into its two main streams, he conveyed his army over to the delta by night, and thence to the other side, in ships. Shirkūh discovered the movement too late to oppose, and finding the enemy landed he retreated to Upper Egypt. The king pursuing came up with him at “ the two Gates ” (el-Bābān), ten miles south of Minya. Here was a plain, on the border where the cultivated land touched the desert, and numerous sandy hills gave cover to the combatants. Shirkūh's captains at first advised him not to risk a battle ; but one of them stood forth and said stoutly, “ Those who fear death or slavery are not fit to serve kings : let them turn ploughmen, or stay at home with their wives.” Saladin and others applauded ; and Shirkūh, always ready for hard knocks, ¹¹⁶⁷ gladly gave battle (18 April, 1167). He put the ^{Apr.}

¹ William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, lib. xix., cap. 19, 20. The embassy is not recorded by the Arabic chroniclers.

baggage in the centre, covered by Saladin's troop, which was to bear the first brunt of the attack. Saladin's orders were to fall back when pressed and draw the enemy in pursuit, and then to press them in turn, as the fight might allow. Shirkūh himself took command of the right wing, composed of a body of picked horsemen, which was to cut up the enemy's rear, consisting of the less warlike Egyptians. It fell out as he expected. The Franks were drawn away by Saladin; the Egyptians were cut up and routed; and when the Crusaders, returning from the pursuit, found their allies fled, they also hastily retreated, abandoning their baggage and leaving Hugh of Cæsarea among the prisoners.¹ The victors, however, were not strong enough to follow up the success, march on to Cairo, and run Shāwar and Amalric to earth. Taking the lesser risk, Shirkūh went north by a desert route and entered Alexandria without opposition. Here he installed Saladin as governor, with one half of his army, while with the other he again turned southwards to levy contributions in Upper Egypt.

The joint forces of the Franks and Egyptians now invested Alexandria, whilst the Christian fleet held the coast. The defence of the city was Saladin's first independent command, and he quitted himself well. He had but a thousand followers of his own, in the midst of a mongrel and partly foreign populace, who, as malcontents, were not sorry to take part against a feeble government or to defend their city against the savage and bloodthirsty Franks; yet, as merchants and tradesmen, could not conceal their terror of the siege-machines and infernal engines which the "infidels" brought against their walls. Provisions, moreover, ran short; and short rations make a humble stomach. At last they

¹ Ibn-el-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 548; according to his *Atābezg* it was a month earlier. The numbers engaged are variously estimated. The Arab historians give Shirkūh only 2000 horsemen. William of Tyre (xix. 25), on the other hand, puts the Saracen force at 9000 men mailed (*loricis galeisque*), 3000 archers, and at least 10,000 Arabs armed with spears. The Latins, he says, had only 374 knights, an uncertain number of light infantry (Turcopoles), and a body of Egyptians who were more a burden than a help.

rose in a tumult and openly talked of surrender. Saladin meanwhile had sent to his uncle for help, and Shirkūh was hurrying down from Kūṣ laden with treasure. The news put fresh heart into the people, already spurred on by Saladin's spirited exhortations and the promise of reinforcement, or frightened into a desperate courage by his tales of the monstrous barbarities inflicted by the Franks upon the vanquished. They held out for seventy-five days, in spite of hunger and incessant assaults, till it became known that Shirkūh was at the Abyssinians' Lake, laying siege to Cairo. On this, Amalric gave up all thoughts of Alexandria, and a peace was arranged, by which both parties agreed to leave Egypt to the Egyptians. ^{1167, Aug. 4} Alexandria was surrendered to Shāwar; prisoners were exchanged; and Shirkūh led the exhausted remnant of his 2000 troopers back to Damascus.

The Christians claimed the campaign as a triumph, and the evacuation of Alexandria as a surrender; but if the Arab chroniclers are right in saying that Amalric paid Shirkūh 50,000 pieces of gold to go away, the advantage would appear to have been on the side of the Muslims. On the other hand, the Franks, in violation (apparently) of their agreement, not only left a Resident at Cairo, but insisted on furnishing the guards of the city gates from their own soldiers; they also increased the annual subsidy to be paid by Shāwar to the king of Jerusalem to 100,000 gold pieces. Not content with

this hold, the more impetuous among Amalric's counsellors presently began to urge the complete conquest of Egypt, and their advice was strongly supported by the garrison they had left at Cairo and



Fig. 41.—Dinār of el-'Ādīd, Cairo, 1168.

Fustāt, who had naturally the best means of discovering the weakness of their defences. The king of Jerusalem

once more marched into Egypt ; but now he entered as an enemy where before he had been bidden as an ally. Arrived at Bilbeys on 3 November, 1168, he added to perfidy the crime of wholesale massacre,—he spared neither age nor sex, says the Latin chronicler, in the devoted town.

This barbarous act at once ranged the Egyptians on the side of Nür-ed-din, and inspired them to heroic exertions. They took advantage of the Christians' foolish loitering to marshal their forces and strengthen their defences. The old city of Fustāt, for three hundred years the metropolis of Egypt and still a densely populated suburb of Cairo, was by Shāwar's orders set on fire, that it might not give shelter to the Franks. Twenty thousand naphtha barrels and ten thousand torches were lighted.¹¹⁶⁸ ¹² The fire lasted fifty-four days, and its traces may still be found in the wilderness of sandheaps stretching over miles of buried rubbish on the south side of Cairo.¹ The people fled "as from their very graves," the father abandoned his children, the brother his twin ; and all rushed to Cairo for dear life. The hire of a camel for the mile or two of transit cost thirty pieces of gold. The capital itself was in a tumult of preparation for the attack. The assault, however, was postponed by the negotiations which Shāwar adroitly contrived, to buy off his greedy assailants. There was more pretence than honesty in his diplomacy, for he was sending at the same moment couriers to Damascus to implore the aid of Nür-ed-din. The young caliph of Egypt wrote himself, and even enclosed some of his wives' hair as a supreme act of supplication which no gentleman could resist.

This time the king of Syria did not hesitate ; he was nettled at the poor results of the two previous expeditions, and indignant with the Franks for what he held to be a flagrant breach of faith. He might even have gone in person, but that he was preoccupied with the

¹ The population reoccupied the burnt city to some extent for a century, and its final abandonment and demolition dates from the reign of Beybars (Kalkashandi, 58).

unsettled state of Mesopotamia. He lost no time, however, in despatching a force of 2000 picked troopers from his own guard, with 6000 paid Turkmāns of approved valour, under the command of Shirkūh, supported by a large staff of emulous emirs. Nūr-ed-din himself superintended the marshalling of the army at the Spring Head, a day's march from Damascus, and gave every man a gratuity of twenty gold pieces, whilst he committed to Shirkūh 200,000 *D.* for his military chest.

On 17 Dec., 1168, the third expedition began its march to Egypt, once more to rescue Shāwar, in name, but in fact with far larger designs. Amalric, always needy and greedy, was still waiting before Cairo for more of the wezir's promised gold, when Shirkūh suddenly effected his junction with the Egyptians (8 Jan., 1169), evading the Frank army which had gone out to intercept his advance. Deceived by Shāwar and outgeneralled by Shirkūh, the discomfited king retired to Palestine without offering battle, having gained, as the proverb has it, nothing better than the "boots of Honeyn." The Syrians entered Cairo in triumph, and were welcomed as deliverers. The grateful caliph gave audience to Shirkūh and invested him with a robe of honour, clothed in which he returned to display himself to the army. Shāwar, inwardly devoured by jealousy and alarm, rode out daily to the Syrian camp, in great state, with all his banners, drums, and trumpets, and overwhelmed the general with protestations of devotion; but meanwhile he took no steps to perform his engagements to Nūr-ed-din, but was actually meditating a treacherous arrest of Shirkūh and his officers at a friendly banquet. The Syrian leaders soon determined that he was not to be trusted, and Saladin and G'urdik resolved to get rid of him. As the wezir was riding out to visit the general, who chanced to be paying his respects to the venerated tomb of the Imām esh-Shāfi'i, Saladin and his men dragged him from his horse and made him prisoner. Whatever doubts Shirkūh may have entertained as to the fate of Shāwar were set at rest by a peremptory order from the caliph himself, who demanded the head

of the wezir. Thus ended the brief and checkered career of a remarkable and politic minister ; an Arab chief, moreover, of ancient lineage, with all the Bedawi's daring and the ancestral love of poetry—insomuch that he once filled 'Omāra's mouth with gold in delight at an ode—and, it must be added, with the Arab's full share of falsehood and deceit.

The caliph el-'Ādid, who was much impressed by the gallant bearing of his deliverers, immediately appointed Shirkūh to the vacant office, clad him in the robes of wezir, invested him with plenary powers, and gave him the titles of el-Melik en-Nāṣir, " Victorious King," and Commander-in-chief. The people were as pleased as the pontiff ; they had liked the jolly soldier as he rode over the country a year and a half ago, even though he was levying taxes ; and the Cairenes appreciated the liberal manner in which he had disbursed from his heavy military chest, and had refreshed them with the looting of Shāwar's palace, where they left not so much as a cushion for his lavish successor to sit on. The Arab poet saw more clearly when he remarked that the claws of " the Lion "¹ were now fastened on his prey. The " Lion of the Faith," however, lived scarcely more than

¹¹⁶⁹ Mar. 23 March, 1169. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Saladin, and two years later the Fātimid Caliphate was abolished.

It is remarkable that, although several of the Fātimid caliphs were men of intellectual culture and highly appreciative of literary talent, the period of their rule was unproductive in writers of exceptional merit. It was not for lack of patronage, for the wezirs of Egypt, as well as some of the caliphs, were often generous in their gifts to scholars, poets, and divines. The wezir Ibn-Killis used to hold meetings every Thursday night, when he would read his compositions to the assembled savans, rhetoricians, grammarians, and divines, and poets

¹ Asad-ed-din, " Lion of the Faith," was the Arabic surname of Shirkūh, which is itself Persian for " Mountain-Lion."

would recite their verses, usually panegyrics of their host. He employed a regular staff in transcribing manuscripts, and every day a large table was laid for the learned men who joined his household and other guests. The caliph's physician, *et-Temīmī* of Jerusalem, was a man of real science, and his librarian, *esh-Shābushtī*, wrote a history of the monasteries. *Abū-r-Rakāmak* of Antioch (†1008-9), whom *Thā'labī* described as "the pearl of his age, the amalgam of excellences, master of poetry in its light as in its serious moods," was among the panegyrists who attended the levees of *Ibn-Killis*, and wrote odes in praise of him and of the caliphs *Mu'izz*, *Aziz*, and *Hākim*. *El-Kindī*, the historian and topographer of Egypt (†961), lived at *Fustāt*, and his continuator, *Ibn-Zūlāk* (†997), an Egyptian, also wrote a history of the *Kādis*. But the most famous men of the early Fātimid time were the *Kādī en-No'mān* and his sons and grandsons, who held the highest legal and religious offices for forty years, from the conquest of Egypt to the middle of the reign of *Hākim*, who accorded them special privileges. These *Kādis*, like most of their order, were not merely learned in the law and able judges, but men of the highest education of the age, familiar with all branches of Arabic literature, and themselves historians and poets. Another celebrated civil servant (though he wore a uniform) of the time of *Hākim* was *el-Musebbīhi* (†1029), an Egyptian by birth, who wrote the history of his country in 26,000 pages, and other works on religion, poetry, astrology, curiosities of literature and history, and the arts of the table, to the extent of 35,000 pages more. The wealth of the Fātimid court and the encouragement given to the polite sciences drew many foreigners to Cairo. *El-Kudā'i*, the historian and jurisconsult (†1062), *Ibn-Bābshādh*, the grammarian (†1077), and *Abū-Ya'kūb en-Nagirami* (†1126) of *Baṣra*, a distinguished philologer, were amongst these visitors; and the Arabic manuscripts on philology, poetry, and the "Days" of the Arabs, copied by the last's accurate pen at an extremely moderate price, or delivered orally at his precise dictation, long remained the received texts in

Egypt. The poet Ibn-el-Khallāl (†1151), described by his contemporary, 'Imād-ed-din (Saladin's secretary), as "the pupil of Egypt's eye, combining all the noble qualities of his country," at the time of Hāfiẓ, was president of the correspondence department, where the art of writing despatches in the most elaborate style was studiously cultivated. When a candidate for admission was asked what qualifications he possessed for the art of correspondence, he replied, "None, except that I know the Korān and the Ḥamāṣa by heart." "That will do," said Ibn-el-Khallāl. It was as though an Englishman should say that he could repeat the whole of the Bible and the "Golden Treasury." The wezir Ibn-es-Sälär was a devout Shāfi'iite Muslim as well as a tyrannical governor, and the college he founded at Alexandria to propagate the teaching of the theological school initiated by the Imām Shāfi'i had an excellent president in the eminent traditioner and divine es-Silāfi of İsfahān (†1180), among whose pupils was Ibn-el-G'arrāḥ (†1219), the poet, calligrapher, and ornament of the correspondence office. He elaborated a riddle which takes three large quarto pages to unravel. The Kādi er-Rashīd ibn-ez-Zubeyr (†1166), poet and accomplished man of letters, was another of Ibn-es-Sälär's friends.

That there was not a larger number of distinguished scholars during the two centuries of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt is partly due to the insecurity of life—the court poet, 'Abd-el-Ğhaffār, for example, was wantonly beheaded by Hākim, as were some of the celebrated No'mān Kādīs—but much more to the heretical character of the dynasty. Orthodox Muslims shunned the court of caliphs whose doctrines and claims they utterly repudiated. A great deal of intellectual activity, however, was shown by the rank and file of students in Cairo during this period, and although the University of the Azhar had not yet attained the celebrity which it acquired under the orthodox rule of the succeeding dynasties, there was already the nucleus of a great theological school. The era of Egyptian colleges begins with the reign of Saladin.

In art, as has been shown, the immense wealth of the

Fātimids tended to encourage the production of costly and beautiful objects of luxury, and the caliphs and their wezīrs were notable builders. The great mosques of el-Azhar (though restored out of all semblance to the original design) and Ḥākim are still standing to testify to their zeal, and the remains of the smaller mosques or chapels of el-Āqmar and of es-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Ruzzik display the bold and effective designs and austere Kūfic inscriptions for which Fātimid art is renowned. The three massive gates of Cairo, built by Roman architects and resembling in plan and in details the heavy gates of Byzantine fortresses, are among the most enduring relics of the Shi'a government in Egypt, and it is worth noticing that the heretical formula of faith inscribed in beautiful Kūfic characters over the Gate of Victory in the reign of Mustanṣir has triumphantly survived eight centuries of dominant orthodoxy.

CHAPTER VII

SALADIN

1169—1193

Authorities.—Ibahā-ed-din, Ibn-el-Athīr, ‘Imād-ed-din, Abū-Ṣāliḥ, Abū-Shāma, Ibn-Khallikān, el-Maqrīzī; William of Tyre, Ernoul, Itinerarium Regis Ricardi; Lane-l’oole’s *Life of Saladin* (1898).

Monuments.—Citadel of Cairo and third wall of city.

Inscriptions.—Irrigation decree at Damascus, A.H. 574; restoration tablet in great mosque of Damascus, 575 (these two have disappeared, but are recorded by Waddington and van Berchem); citadel of Cairo 579 (Casanova, *Mém. Miss. Arch.*, vi. 569); mosque of el-Ākṣā, Jerusalem (de Vogüé, *Temple de Jér.*, 101); Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 585 (de Vogüé, 91); Kubbat Yūsuf, Jerusalem; Church of St. Anne, Jerusalem, 588 (de Vogüé, *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, 244, van Berchem, *Inscr. Ar. de Syrie, Mém. de l’Inst. Egypt*, 1897, Pl. v. fig. 10); tomb of Saladin, Damascus (inscr. disappeared, but recorded by Ibn-Khallikān, iv. 547).

Coin.—Minted at Cairo, Miṣr, Alexandria, Damascus, Iḥamāh, Aleppo.

Glass weights.—Bearing name of ‘Abbāsid caliphs el-Mustadī and en-Nāṣir, without Saladin’s name or date (Lane-Poole, *Cat. Arab. Glass Weights in B.M.*, 36-8).

THE epoch of Saladin’s rule, though brief, was the most glorious in the history of Muslim domination in Egypt; but it owed its glory to causes outside. Of his reign of twenty-four years, Saladin¹ passed only eight at Cairo; the other sixteen were spent in campaigns in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. These external wars can only be briefly described here, and the chief place must

¹ Saladin is the European softened form of Salāḥ-ed-dīn, “Honour of the Faith.” His full names and titles were El-Melik en-Nāṣir Abū-l-Muẓaffar Ṣalāḥ-ed-dunyā-wa-d-dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.

be given to the affairs of Egypt proper.¹ Saladin was born at Tekrit in 1137-8, the son of Ayyūb, a Kurdish officer in the employment of the Baghdād caliph and afterwards of the Atābeg Zengi of Mōṣil. His youth was entirely undistinguished ; and when his father became governor of Damascus, Saladin lived ten years at the court of Nūr-ed-din without making any mark. He took no part, apparently, in the Syrian campaigns of his uncle Shirkūh, who was Nūr-ed-din's chief general ; he loved retirement, and up to the age of twenty-five remained a completely obscure individual. He did indeed accompany the expeditions to Egypt in 1164 and 1167, and distinguished himself at the battle of Bābān and the defence of Alexandria ; but it was with great reluctance that he joined the third expedition in 1168, which proved to be his stepping-stone to empire. His succession to the office of wezir of the Fāṭimid caliph on his uncle's death in March, 1169, was due, no doubt, partly to his kinship, but chiefly, as it seems, to the belief of the Egyptian court that so young and apparently unambitious a man would be easy to manage. His own comrades resented the appointment, and though the majority were won over by tact and presents, a certain number of jealous veterans retired to Syria.

The young wezir's position was curiously anomalous. He was at once the prime-minister of an heretical (Shī'a) caliph and the lieutenant of an orthodox (Sunni) king. With superb inconsistency the two names were included in the same prayer every Friday in the mosque. The Muslim population belonged to both creeds, but it may be assumed that two centuries of Fāṭimid rule had given some predominance to the Shi'a doctrine. To win the loyalty of the people was Saladin's first object, in order to strengthen himself against the obvious jealousy of his sovereign, the king of Syria, and pave the way for the abolition of the Shi'a caliphate and the foundation of an independent monarchy in Egypt.

¹ This necessary limitation may be compensated by reference to the recently published *Life of Saladin* by the present writer, from which the following pages are partly abridged.

Saladin's generosity and personal charm soon gained him the confidence of the Egyptians, and the substitution of his own father and brothers,—a conspicuously able and gallant family,—in the place of suspected officers of ¹¹⁶⁹ the court, strengthened his position. A rising of the caliph's black troops was repressed after some hard fighting in the streets, and the Sūdānis were banished to the Sa'īd, where rebellion smouldered for several years. Hardly was the negro revolt checked when Damietta was attacked by the combined fleets of the Eastern emperor and the king of Jerusalem, numbering ²²⁰ galleys. Saladin had just time to reinforce the garrison, which proved equal to repulsing even the powerful mangonels and movable siege-towers of the enemy, whilst the army of Cairo harassed them outside. Famine and storm came to the aid of the Muslims, and the half-drowned starving invaders made peace and returned in great dejection to Palestine. This was the turning-point in the Franco-Egyptian struggle. Henceforth, instead of going forth to attack, the kingdom of Jerusalem was forced to stand upon its defence.

¹¹⁷⁰ Saladin followed up this success by a raid into Palestine, in which he plundered the town of Gaza, and in the same year took Eyla, at the head of the gulf of Akaba,

the key of the Red Sea route for pilgrims to Mekka. To carry out this operation he resorted to a device which was repeated by his adversaries afterwards; he built ships in sections at Cairo, and carried the parts overland to the Red Sea, where they were put together. The result of these successes against the "infidels" was



Fig. 42.—Glass weight of caliph el-Mustadī, issued by Saladin, 1171.

such a measure of popularity in Egypt that Saladin felt himself strong enough to take a decisive step. As a strictly orthodox Muslim, he had chafed under his forced recognition of an heretical caliph, and he had only submitted to the situation because he did not feel sure of popular support. To educate public opinion he had founded

three orthodox colleges in 1170; and now, with the added reputation of the "holy war" successfully waged in Palestine, he caused the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph to be proclaimed instead of the Fātimid in the mosques on Friday, 10 Sept., 1171. This ecclesiastical revolution passed off without a murmur. The assembled congregation looked merely surprised. The last of the Fātimids, happily, never learnt the secret of his deposition. He had been a recluse in his palace since the arrival of Saladin, and when his name was suppressed he lay dying. The news was mercifully withheld from him; and the last of the famous dynasty, which had been given such great opportunities and had misused them so contemptibly, died three days later, ignorant of his fall.¹ His family and kindred were maintained in gilded captivity, and his 18,000 slaves and servants distributed. Of all the treasures that he found in the palaces, Saladin kept nothing for himself. He gave some to his followers, some he presented to his sovereign Nūr-ed-dīn; the library of 120,000 manuscripts he gave to his learned chancellor, the Kādī el-Fāḍil; the rest was sold for the public purse. Nor did it suit his simple and austere mode of life to take up his residence in the stately halls of the late caliph. He remained in the "House of the Wezīr," and gave up the palaces to the officers of the army. No longer a royal residence, the beautiful mansions of the Fātimids fell into decay, and not a vestige of them has been preserved. "O censurer of my love for the sons of Fāṭīma," cried 'Omāra the poet,

¹ The caliph el-'Ādīd left eleven sons, four sisters, four wives, and other relations to the number of 152, whom the majordomo Karākūsh shut up in different buildings of the palace, separating the sexes, but indulging them with every luxury except posterity. Nevertheless they contrived to rear grandsons of the caliph, and the family was not extinct in 1260. A curious magic cup from Cairo, dated 571 (1175-6), bears the name of "the Imām el-Mo'taṣim-bi-lلāh Abū-l-'Abbās Zāhir, the moon being in Cancer," and this may refer to one of the sons of el-'Ādīd, whose claim was perhaps supported by the pro-Fātimid party, who continued for some years to conspire in the hope of restoring the fallen dynasty or of profiting by its nominal restoration. See Casanova, *Les derniers Fatimides, in Mém. de la Miss. Arch.*, vi. 415-445.

"join in my tears over the desolate halls of the twin palaces!"

Saladin's career, from his accession to power, falls into three distinct periods, which may be called the Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian in regard to the chief scene of action, or the Defensive, Consolidating, and Aggressive, in reference to policy. From the day he became ruler of Egypt he had vowed himself solemnly to the Holy War, the war of extermination against the Franks. Henceforward his whole policy was directed to that one great end. During the first or Egyptian period (1169—1174) he was on the defensive, not only against the Crusaders, but against the friends of the Fātimids, and even against his liege-lord the king of Syria. The policy of this period was to resist internal and foreign attack, avoid a collision with Nūr-ed-dīn, and strengthen himself in Cairo by every possible means, political and military. The second or Syrian period (1174—1186), beginning with the death of Nūr-ed-dīn, saw Saladin, as now the leading Muslim ruler of the near East, extending his sway over Syria and Mesopotamia, and consolidating all the available forces of Islām for the final struggle with the "infidels." The third or Palestinian period (1186—1193) was wholly devoted to the Holy War against the Crusaders, and ended with the peace of Ramla, followed in a few months by the death of the champion of Islām. Through all three periods the one aim was steadily kept in view, and every act of policy, every campaign, was strictly directed to the main object—the creation of a united Saracen empire, strong enough to drive the Franks to the seaboard, if not into the sea. Whatever personal ambition may have mingled unconsciously with it, aggrandizement in Saladin's case meant primarily, if not solely, the triumph of Islām over the "infidels."

The first or Egyptian period had begun well. The Crusaders had not ventured to renew the attack by land, and the invasion by sea had been a fiasco. The mutiny of the black troops of Cairo—the greatest of all internal dangers—had ended in their expulsion to Upper Egypt. The Fātimid caliphate had been abolished

with scarcely a sign of popular disapproval. The next step was to fortify himself alike against internal revolt and external invasion. The Fātimids had contented themselves with a fortified palace on the plain. Saladin, with a soldier's eye, had perceived the weakness of the position, and had already chosen a better site for his purpose. So far each successive dynasty in Egypt had enlarged the capital by extending it in the form of suburbs or vast palaces towards the north-east. Instead of carrying on this plan, Saladin "sought to unite the sites of all the four capitals, and to build a Citadel—the famous 'Castle of the Mountain'—on the westernmost spur of Mount Muqattam, to be the centre of government and to form a military stronghold capable of overawing the whole city and resisting assaults from outside. His plan was to connect this fortress by a bastioned wall with the old fortifications of the Fātimid 'city,' and to extend it so as to enclose the site of Fustāt and Ḥaṭṭāt, and thus to sweep round to the river; but the plan was not completed, and even the Citadel was not finished till long after his death. Saladin's enlargement of the area of the city was accompanied by the demolition of whole suburbs between the old 'city' and the shrine of Neftīsa. These were replaced by pleasure-gardens, and it is recorded that the tall Zawila gate could be seen from the door of Ibn-Tūlūn's mosque. Jehan Thenaud, who accompanied an embassy from Louis XII to Cairo at a later period, found these gardens still a striking feature of the city: 'moult somptueux et grans jardins plains de tous fructiers: comme cytrons, lymons, citrulles, oranges, aubercotz, cassiers et pommes de musez ou d'Adam pour ce que l'on dict estre le fruct duquel Adam oul trepassa le commandement de Dieu. Lesquelz jardins tous les soirs et matins sont arrousez de l'eau du Nil que tirent beufz et chevaux.'¹ Traces of some of these pleasure-grounds may even now be seen from the battlements of the Citadel.

¹ *Le voyage et itinaire de oultre mer faict par Frère Jehan Thenaud,* cited in Schefer's *Nassiri Khosrau*, 133.

"It has been supposed that Saladin designed the Citadel of Cairo to protect himself against a possible insurrection of the partisans of the late dynasty. A sufficient explanation, however, is found in his early associations: every Syrian city had its citadel or fortress, and experience had shown many a time that the town might be taken whilst the citadel remained impregnable, a refuge for the people and a means of recuperation. Therefore Cairo must have a citadel too. It might soon be needed as a tower of defence against his liege-lord Nür-ed-din himself. Saladin had propitiated the king of Syria with presents from the treasures of the Fātīmid palace; prayers were offered for him as sovereign lord every Friday in the mosques, above all in the great mosque of Iḥākīm, which temporarily supplanted the

Azhar as the chief mosque of the city; and his name appeared on the coins struck by Saladin at Cairo. But in spite of this nominal subjection and the absence of all symbols of personal sovereignty, Saladin was virtually his own master; and

Fig. 43.—Dinar of Nür-ed-din, issued by Saladin, Cairo, 1173.

supported as he was by a strong army commanded by his brothers and nephews, he was in fact king of Egypt. Nür-ed-din was well aware of this, but his difficulties with the Franks, with the Selgūk Sultan of Rūm, and with various contentious rulers in Mesopotamia, left him no leisure to clip the wings of his vassal in Egypt. He could not even count upon his co-operation in the Holy War; for Saladin was convinced that if once his suzerain had the chance of seizing his person, there would be an end of his power; and nothing could induce him to venture within Nür-ed-din's reach. Not only this, but he seems to have carried this dread so far that he preferred to have



the Franks on his borders as an obstacle to Nūr-ed-din's advance."¹

This dread in some measure accounts for his desultory and half-hearted attacks upon Montréal and Karak, near the Dead Sea, in 1171 and 1173, and it is conjectured with much probability that his southern campaigns of 1173-4 were undertaken with a view to providing a place of retreat in case Nūr-ed-din carried out his threat of invading Egypt. A division of Saladin's army had already conquered the African littoral from Barkā to Gabes in 1172-3; but this strip of coast offered no strategic position for defence. The expedition to the Sūdān was prompted by the necessity for castigating ¹¹⁷³ the retreating but still rebellious blacks, but another probable object was to examine the resources of the country as a possible refuge. Saladin's elder brother, Tūrānshāh, after pursuing the blacks into Nubia, took the city of Ibrīm (the Roman Primis) near Korosko, pillaged the church of the monophysite Christians, tortured the bishop, and satisfied his Muslim prejudice by slaughtering 700 of the pigs that there abounded.² But his report on the climate and products of the Sūdān was discouraging, and Saladin sent him to Arabia to seek a better country. Tūrānshāh reduced the whole of the Yemen (Arabia Felix), with its cities of Ṣan'a, 'Aden, Zebīd, and G'enēd, and established his government ¹¹⁷⁴ at Ta'izz, whence the Yemen was ruled by members of Saladin's family for fifty-five years.

The absence of a gallant general and a considerable army in the Yemen furnished an opportunity to the partisans of the Fātīmids who still hoped to eject the young "mamlūk," as they called Saladin, from his seat, and to re-establish the old order, which promised better profits to the hangers-on of a luxurious court. The plot was generally ascribed to the Arab poet 'Onāra, but whoever was the original instigator, it found wide support. Egyptian and Sūdānī officers, abetted even by some of Saladin's jealous Turkmāns, joined in the con-

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 118-120.

² Abū-Ṣalih, f. 96.

spiracy ; the kings of Sicily and Jerusalem were induced to co-operate by promises of gold and territory ; the master of the Assassins was invited to send some of his secret murderers ; and preparations were made for a combined attack by sea and land, in which Saladin was to be enmeshed. Fortunately the intended victim got wind of the secret, seized the leading conspirators, including the poet-politician, and crucified them all.

^{Apr.} The inferior ranks of the plotters were exiled to Upper Egypt.

"The sea attack, which was to have supported the Cairo conspiracy, did not take place till the late summer. The Franks of Palestine did not move when they heard that the plot had failed ; but the king of Sicily, less well-informed, despatched a large fleet, estimated at 282 ^{Jul,} vessels, which arrived off Alexandria on 28 July. The scanty garrison were completely taken by surprise, but they tried to resist the landing, which was nevertheless effected near the pharos. The catapults and mangonels which the Normans had brought were soon playing upon the curtain of the city walls, and the defenders were obliged to fight desperately all the first day till night fell, to resist the storming parties. The next day the Christians advanced their machines close up to the walls, but reinforcements had joined the garrison from the neighbouring villages, and again the attack was beaten off. On the third day, there was a vigorous sortie : the machines were burnt, the enemy lost severely, and the garrison returned flushed with triumph. Scarcely were they within the gates, when an express arrived from Saladin, to whom they had sent for support. The courier had ridden from Cairo that same day with relays of horses, and, reaching Alexandria between three and four in the afternoon, loudly proclaimed the approach of Saladin's army. The tidings put fresh heart into the defenders, and they rushed out again in the gathering darkness, fell upon the camp of the Normans, and drove them, some to the ships, some into the sea. The news that Saladin was on the march finished the fiasco : the Normans slipped their moorings and fled, as swiftly and

suddenly as they had come. The three days' wonder vanished on the horizon, and Alexandria breathed again."¹

The conspiracy had been suppressed at Cairo in April; the Norman invasion was repelled in July; in the same month Amalric, the king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by Baldwin, a child and a leper; but meanwhile a still greater obstacle to Saladin's career had been removed in May by the death of Nûr-ed-dîn, the noble sultan of Syria. By this far-reaching event, Saladin became at one bound the leading Muslim sovereign of the near East. His only possible rivals were Nûr-ed-dîn's son, a mere child, in Syria; Nûr-ed-dîn's nephew, Seyfed-dîn, the prince of Mûsîl and head of the family of Zengî; and the Seljûk sultan of Rûm or Asia Minor, and none of these was his equal in military power or capacity. To oppose the Crusaders successfully there must be one king and one consolidated Muslim empire, and these several principalities must be brought into line in a general advance. Thus began the second—the Syrian or Consolidating period of his career.

Saladin dealt with them separately. Syria was, of course, his first object. Its child-king was in the hands of a clique, and the scheming emîrs were making terms with the Franks. An appeal from Damascus supplied the necessary justification for the first step. With only 700 picked horsemen, Saladin rode across the desert to the Syrian capital and took possession in the name of the child-king. Passing through Emesa and Hamâh, he reached Aleppo, where Nûr-ed-dîn's heir, or rather his wezîr, prudently shut the gate in his face. Saladin's protestations of loyalty to his old master's son were not believed, and an attempt was made to assassinate him by means of the emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain," whilst the Franks, under Count Raymond of Tripolis, made a diversion in favour of their Muslim ally. The siege of Aleppo was therefore raised, and Saladin was checked. He had to be content for the

¹ Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 127-8.

present with the possession of all Syria south of Aleppo.



Fig. 44.—Dinār of Saladin, Cairo, 1179.

1175
Nor was he allowed to hold this without interference. The Atābeg of Mōsīl despatched an army from Mesopotamia to combine with his cousin of Aleppo, and the joint forces marched upon Ḥamāh. In face of this formidable attack, Saladin essayed to make terms, but all overtures being rejected he won a brilliant victory at the Horns of Ḥamāh, and pursued the enemy up to the gates of Aleppo.¹ A second victory in the following year, at the Turkman's Wells, over Seyf-ed-din himself, ended in the July total rout of the Mesopotamians, and a treaty of alliance with the young king of Aleppo, by which Saladin was recognized as sovereign over all the countries he had conquered, from Egypt almost to the Euphrates.

An interval of six years passed (1177-82) before this first step was followed by the annexation of Mesopotamia. Peace reigned between Saladin and the house of Zengī, and there was also a nominal truce with the Crusaders, negotiated by Humphrey of Toron, whose friendship had even gone the length of admitting Saladin to the rank of

¹ Technically, Saladin's independent sovereignty dates from this victory, for it was only after this success that he issued coins in his own name. As wezir of Egypt he had successively placed on the coinage the names of the Fātimid caliph el-'Ādīd (A.H. 565, 566, 1169-71 A.D.), and of Nūr-ed-din (A.H. 567, 569, 1171-4 A.D.), but never his own name. When he occupied Damascus, he placed the name of Nūr-ed-din's son eṣ-Sāliḥ on the copper coins, adding his own as well. In 570 (A.D. 1174-5, but undoubtedly in the latter year) for the first time gold coins of Cairo and Alexandria appeared with the titles of "the king strong to aid, Joseph son of Ayyūb," el-Melik en-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb. The title el-Melik en-Nāṣir was bestowed upon him by the Fātimid caliph on his appointment as wezir. There is a nearly complete series of Saladin's Cairo dinārs from 570 to 589 (1175-93), and a less continuous series of Alexandria from 570 to 585. His Damascus and Aleppo coinage were in silver and copper, and he also used the mint Ḥamāh.

knighthood.¹ The organisation of his wide dominions, and the fortification of Cairo, occupied much of his time. The new stone walls were laid out, and the building of the Citadel was begun, though it was not finished till the reign of his nephew Kāmil thirty years later. The enceinte may still be recognized through a considerable extent of walls, but the citadel has so often been restored and remodelled by the Mamlūk sultans and by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, that it is difficult to identify much of the original work;² the founder's inscription, however, may still be read over the old "Gate of the Steps," a dark portal in the west face of the original enceinte. It records how "the building of this splendid Citadel,—

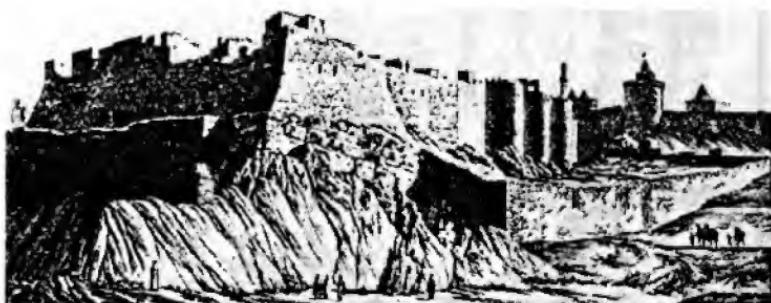
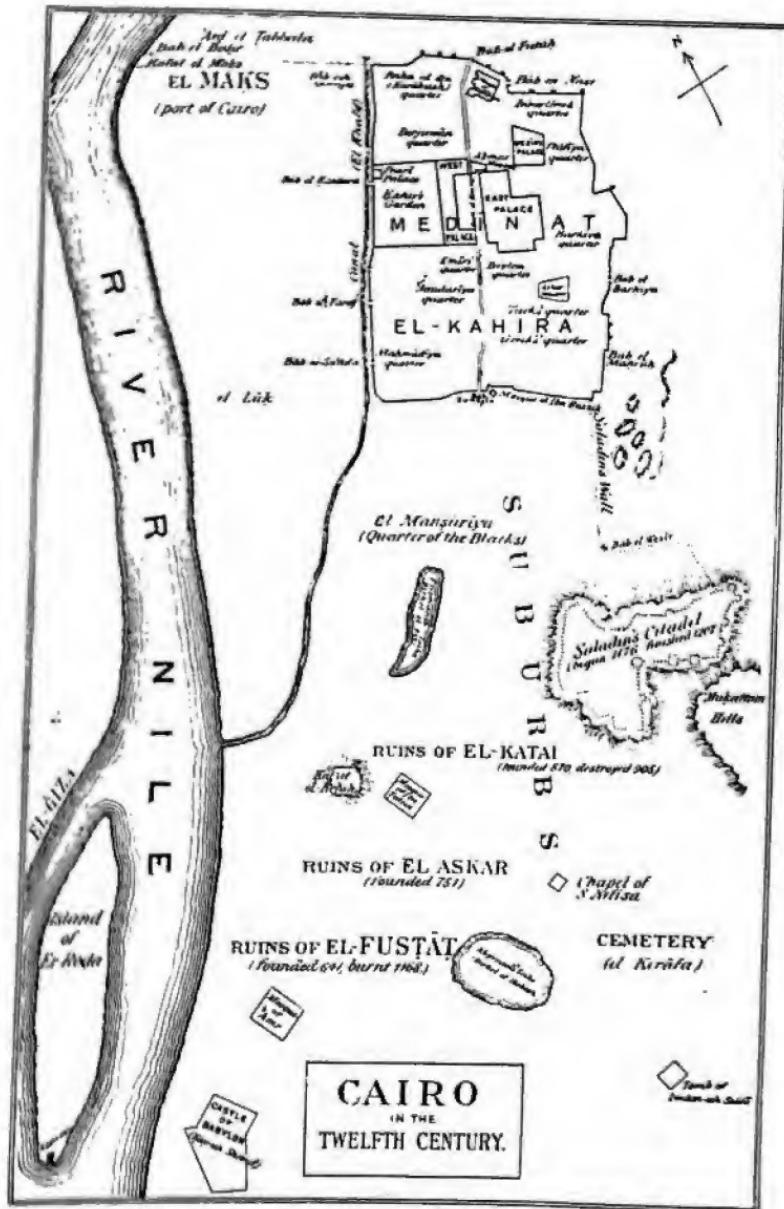


Fig. 45.—Citadel of Cairo (drawn in 1798).

hard by Cairo the Guarded, on the terrace which joins use to beauty, and space to strength, for those who seek the shelter of his power,—was ordered by our master the

¹ *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, i. 3; cp. v. 11, and William of Tyre, xvii. 17, and *l'Ordine de Chevalerie*.

² See, however, the elaborate historical description of M. P. Casanova in *Mém. de la Miss. Arch.* vi., and M. van Berchem's *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe, Journ. Asiat.* 1891, where it is remarked that Saladin's citadel and enceinte belong to the French type of defences, introduced by the Crusaders, in contradistinction from the earlier Byzantine type employed by Bedr el-G'emāli in the second wall and the three existing gates.



King Strong-to-aid, Honour of the World and the Faith, Conquest-laden, Yūsuf, son of Ayyūb, Restorer of the Empire of the Caliph ; with the direction of his brother and heir the Just King (el-'Ādil) Seyf ed-din Abū-Bekr Mohammad, friend of the Commander of the Faithful ; and under the management of the Emīr of his Kingdom and Support of his Empire Karākūsh son of 'Abdallāh, the slave of el-Melik en-Nāṣir, in the year 579 (1183-4)."



Fig. 46.—Saladin's inscription on the Gate of Steps in the Citadel of Cairo, 1183.

The famous "Well of the Winding Stairs," 280 feet deep, was excavated in the solid rock by the eunuch Karākūsh under Saladin's orders ; but the other buildings (now demolished) associated with his name belonged to later times. The people of Egypt were proud to name public works after their great sultan, and thus his memory is preserved in the Cairo aqueduct (a Mamlük work), and even in the chief canal of Upper Egypt, which is still known as the "River of Joseph," Bahr Yūsuf, though it dates from the time of the Pharaohs. Saladin's chief public work outside Cairo was the great dike of G'iza, built (1183-4) like the Citadel with stones taken from the smaller pyramids, and carried on forty

arches along the border of the desert, as an outwork against a possible invasion from the west.¹

But perhaps none of his innovations had more permanent influence than the *medresa* or collegiate mosque. Hitherto there had been no theological colleges at Cairo. Beyond the ordinary elementary schools, almost the only lectures that could be attended were given in the old mosque of 'Amr. The Fātimid "Hall of Science" was an exception, but it was largely devoted to initiation into the several degrees of Shi'a mysticism and the discussion of speculative philosophy. The college—or mosque where regular teaching was given, generally quite gratuitously, to all who came—was an innovation from Persia, introduced into Syria by Nūr-ed-din, and imported into Egypt by Saladin, who was eager to impart the Shāfi'i form of orthodoxy to the misguided Egyptians. He founded colleges for this purpose at Alexandria and Cairo, the earliest being built close to the tomb of the Imām Shāfi'i himself in the southern Kerāfa or cemetery. Others were the Nāṣiriya (or Sherifiya) and Kamhiya colleges near the mosque of 'Amr at Fustāt, and the Medresa of the Swordmakers, installed in the old palace of Ma'mūn in Cairo itself. None of these has been preserved, but it is only after Saladin's time that we find the familiar cruciform medresa or collegiate mosque with its four deep porticos, where the doctors of the four orthodox sects (Hanafi, Shāfi'i, Mālikī, and Hanbali) taught their circles of students.

In the administration of his kingdom Saladin had the valuable assistance of a faithful and learned servant. The Kādī el-Fādil, an Arab of Ascalon, had been in the secretariate of the Fātimid caliph since the time of el-'Ādil the wezīr, and on Saladin's accession to power became his chancellor or wezīr, and exercised great influence in that high office during the whole of the reign of Saladin and his son and grandson, until his own death in Jan., 1200. He was famous for his ornate style and the elegant finish of his despatches. Saladin trusted

¹ Maqr., Khīṭāt, ii. 204, 151; Ibn-G'ubeyr, 49.

him implicitly. He was as devout and orthodox as his master, and also founded a theological college in Cairo. It was perhaps due to his rigid tenets that the Christians, who had been indulged under the later ignoble Fātimids, were subjected, if not to persecution, certainly to confiscations under the enlightened rule of Saladin.¹

The six years' interval, however, was not wholly spent in works of peace.

There were several brushes with the Franks, who had already forgotten their truce, and forayed the country about Damascus. Saladin retorted by invading their peculiar province, the Holy Land. At Tell G'ezér, near Ramla, he was surprised and utterly routed by king Baldwin backed by 375 knights, and had to ride for his life. It was his first, indeed his only, serious defeat. In three months, however,

¹¹⁷⁷
Nov.
²⁵



Fig. 47.—Gate of Steps in Citadel of Cairo, 1183.

he was able to take the field again at Hims with a fresh army, and in 1179 he won a brilliant victory over the king of Jerusalem at Marg Oyün (Mergion), and took seventy knights prisoners, including the masters of the Temple and Hospital, Raymond of Tripolis, Balian and Baldwin of Ibelin, and Hugh of Tiberias. The victory was followed by the destruction of the castle at Jacob's Ford which the king had erected as a menace to the Saracens.

¹¹⁷⁹
June

Aug.

¹ Abū-Şāliḥ, 25a, 67b, etc.

Meanwhile the Egyptian fleet of seventy vessels harried the coast of Palestine and brought back a thousand Christian prisoners, who were usefully employed in building the Citadel of Cairo. The winter was spent in equipping a larger navy, and when Saladin opened the campaign in the spring with a combined advance by sea
 1180 and land, king Baldwin prudently proposed a truce, which was forthwith concluded for two years and confirmed by solemn oaths. Turning north to Cilicia, Saladin entered into negotiations with the Selçuk sultan of Konya, the king of Lesser Armenia, and the princes of Môsil, G'ezira, Irbil, Keyfâ, and Mâridîn, who all set Oct. 2 their seals to a solemn pact, whereby they bound themselves on oath to keep peace and amity with one another for the space of two years. For this time war was to be unknown within their borders, and a holy truce, a *Magna Pax Saracenica*, was to reign throughout the near East.

The great truce showed that Saladin's influence now overawed all smaller powers from the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and the temporary union of all the neighbouring Muslim states was a long step towards that united effort which he intended to make against the crusading powers. It was the beginning of the policy which used the warlike tribesmen of Mesopotamia as recruits for the Holy War. The death
 1181 of Nûr-ed-dîn's son, the king of Aleppo, and the perfidious negotiations between the Mesopotamian princes and the Franks, opened the way; and when Saladin left Cairo, as it proved for ever, on 11 May, 1182, it was to carry out his great schemes as the champion of Islam. After some engagements with the Franks, and an unsuccessful siege of Beyrût, he marched into Mesopotamia and
 1182 subdued the whole country, excepting the city of Môsil.
 1183 June Aleppo was purchased by exchange; and, after two unsuccessful but exhausting sieges, Môsil at last consented
 1186 May to become Saladin's vassal. By this treaty the whole of Northern Mesopotamia and part of Kurdistân were permanently joined to his empire.

The object of his long and arduous campaigns on the

Tigris and Euphrates had been attained. He had now allies instead of enemies on his northern flank. Before this no invasion of the Christian territory could safely be undertaken without posting an army of observation to guard against attack from the north ; but now he could advance with confidence. He had also more troops at his back, and could not only command the full strength of his Syrian and Egyptian levies, but also count upon large contingents from the Mesopotamian provinces. In the Holy War, upon which he was now to embark

in deadly earnest, all the great barons of those parts came to reinforce the Muslim army, and the princes of Zengi's line, the lords of Mōsil, Singār, G'ezīra, Irbil, Harrān, and even the Kurds from beyond the Tigris,



Fig. 48.—Dirhem (silver coin) of Saladin, Aleppo, 1186.

swelled the general muster with their vassals and retainers.

Thus prepared and strengthened, Saladin entered upon the third period of his career—the Palestinian or Aggressive. There had been provocations and reprisals for several years. Reginald of Châtillon, lord of Karak, had entered the Red Sea, seized pilgrim ships, and even invaded Arabia with the intention of destroying the tomb of the Prophet at Medina and the Ka'ba at Mekka. He was pursued by the Egyptian fleet, and his expedition was cut to pieces. In Palestine there had been an indecisive battle near La Fève (el-Fūla), and twice had Saladin laid unsuccessful siege to Reginald's impregnable fortress of Karak. A treaty of peace for four years was then arranged by Raymond of Tripolis, (the regent of the infant king Baldwin V), who was personally on terms of friendship if not actual alliance with Saladin ; but the peace was a hollow form whilst all Europe was beating to arms, and English knights from the Cheviots to the Pyrenees were taking the Cross, and

1183
Apr.

Oct.

1184
Aug.

the two great military orders were burning, as ardent as Saladin himself, to strike a blow for the faith. The smallest spark would kindle the conflagration. The spark came from Reginald of Chatillon, who for the third time in spite of the treaty, pounced upon a peaceful caravan of merchants who were journeying past his stronghold. It was not only a rich prize, but was rumoured to include one of Saladin's sisters. The provocation was ample. Saladin vowed to kill the truce-breaker with his own hand, and kept his word.

III. The history of the Holy War of 1187 to 1192 is familiar to students, and forms no part of the history of Egypt.
The order of events is all that need be mentioned

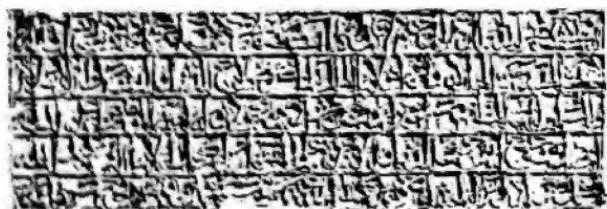


Fig. 49.—Saladin's inscription at church of St. Anne, Jerusalem, 1192

The crushing defeat of the Crusaders under their new king, Guy of Lusignan, at Hittin, near Tiberias, was followed by the rapid conquest of Palestine. Saladin's army spread over the Holy Land, and the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, with the exception of a few castles and fortified cities, was subdued in a month. Ascalon fell in September, and on 2 October Jerusalem itself capitulated on honourable terms. Tyre alone escaped capture in the first rush of conquest, almost by a miracle and its second successful resistance (Nov., Dec.) was the turning point in Saladin's victorious career. The county of Tripolis and the principality of Antioch, all the coast cities north of Tyre, were easily occupied in a single brilliant campaign, May—Sept., 1188, and Antioch itself was obliged to agree to a humiliating truce. The great

inland fastnesses of Belvoir, Safed, and Karak, that still held out, were taken in December and January. Nothing remained of all the conquests of the Crusaders but Tyre and Belfort.

Tyre, however, was the rallying point of the Franks. Thither the garrisons let free by Saladin, with more magnanimity than prudence, as each city or fortress capitulated, immediately betook themselves. Thither came king Guy and most of the nobles and knights who had been released on their solemn pledge never again to bear arms against the sultan. From Tyre marched the army which began the memorable siege of 'Akka,¹ and welcomed the powerful reinforcements of the third Crusade. Tyre was the fatal wooden horse of Saladin's Troy. Had he overcome the impatience or revived the exhaustion of his troops, and sacrificed every other interest to the one object of taking Tyre, there might have been no siege of 'Akka and no third Crusade. Without that *ποῦστω* even Richard of England would have found it hard to bring his Danish battle-axe to bear upon the Saracens.

The siege of 'Akka by Guy of Lusignan began on ¹¹⁸⁹ 28 August, 1189; the siege of the besiegers by Saladin began two days later. The first great battle between the Franks and the double enemy—the garrison within and the relieving army encircling the Christians—was fought on 4 October, and ended in the repulse of the Crusaders with heavy loss. Saladin neglected to follow up his victory, and the Franks spent the winter in entrenching and strengthening their position before 'Akka. In the spring the reports of the approach of the ¹¹⁹⁰ German crusade under Frederick Barbarossa drew off a large part of the Saracen forces. A second great attack on the Muslims on 25 July, however, was severely punished; but the success was not followed up, and the chances of annihilating the besieging army were sensibly diminished by the landing of Henry of Champagne with 10,000 fresh men. The siege and countersiege went on, with constantly lessening hopes for the Saracens. The

¹ The Arabic 'Akka represents the ancient Akko. The modern French spelling, Acre, should be abandoned in English.

Duke of Swabia brought the survivors of the German army into 'Akka in October, and the first English fleet arrived Oct. 12 in the same month. Still Saladin more than held his own. An attempt of the Christians to bring in pro-vvisions from Haifa was checked by a strenuous engagement at the Spring-Head, and then winter turned the plain into a sea of mud, and both sides waited for the spring, while famine and fever decimated the Christian camp. Meanwhile Saladin had revictualled 'Akka, and relieved the exhausted garrison.

¹¹⁹¹ The leaders of the third Crusade at last arrived : Philip of France at Easter, Richard of England on 8 June. With such reinforcements the long siege soon July came to an end. On 12 July 'Akka surrendered.

¹¹⁹² Saladin was no party to this act of the exhausted garrison, but he had been unable to relieve it, and was forced to accept the situation. Negotiations for peace had been opened before the capitulation, and were concluded after it ; but some delay in carrying out the stipulations with regard to the surrender of Christian Aug. 16 prisoners so exasperated Richard that he massacred 2700 Muslim prisoners in cold blood in sight of the two camps. There was no more talk of peace, and the king of England (Philip had already set off on his return to France) marched down the coast with the intention of taking Ascalon and then striking inland for Jerusalem. Saladin hung upon the Crusaders during the whole Sept. 7 march, but after a defeat at Arsūf he was obliged to draw off his forces to Ramla, and, on the approach of Jan., 1192 winter, to Jerusalem. Two attempts to march on the June Holy City brought Richard actually in sight of his goal, but dissensions in the mixed council of the Crusaders and the increased strength of the Saracens frustrated the design. Richard retired disappointed to 'Akka, and July 27 Saladin seized the opportunity to make a dash upon Jaffa, which was immediately relieved and defended by the king of England and a handful of knights—the most brilliant feat of the whole war, of which both sides were now weary. Ever since the battle of Arsūf negotiations for peace had been carried on in a desultory manner ;

but now that Richard was ill and the state of England urgently called for his presence, they were pressed to a conclusion, and a treaty was signed for three years, by which the Crusaders retained the coast cities from 'Akka to Jaffa, and pilgrims were permitted to visit the holy places at Jerusalem.

The Holy War had lasted five years. Before the decisive victory at Hittin in July, 1187, not an inch of Palestine west of the Jordan was in Muslim hands. After the peace of Ramla in September, 1192, the whole land was Muslim territory except a narrow strip of coast from Tyre to Jaffa. To recover this strip the whole of Europe had risen in arms, and hundreds of thousands of Crusaders had fallen. The result hardly justified the cost. Saladin, on the other hand, came out of the war with power unshaken. He had been loyally supported by the whole strength of his empire and his vassals, from Egypt to the Tigris: Kurds, Turkomans, Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptians mingled in his armies, and all were Muslims and his servants when he called upon them for an effort. Not a province had fallen away, only one youthful vassal rebelled for an instant, though the trials and sufferings of the long campaigns had severely taxed the soldiers' endurance and faith in their leader. After the war was over he still reigned unchallenged from the mountains of Kurdistān to the Libyan desert, and far beyond these borders the king of Georgia, the Catholicos of Armenia, the Sultan of Kōniya, even the emperor of Constantinople, were eager for his alliance. He lived to see the triumph of his life's ambition: he had driven the Christians out of the Holy City and restored the unity of Islam. The exhaustion of the long campaigns, however, had enfeebled his never robust health, and a fever carried him off at Damascus, six months after the peace. The popular conception of his character has not erred. Magnanimous, chivalrous, gentle, sympathetic, pure in heart and life, ascetic and laborious, simple in his habits, fervently devout, and only severe in his zeal for the faith, he has been rightly held to be the type and pattern of Saracen chivalry.

1193
Mar. 4

CHAPTER VIII

SALADIN'S SUCCESSORS

(THE AYYÜBIDS)

1193—1250

Authorities.—Ibn-el-Athir, Abū-Shāma, ‘Abd-el-Latīf, Ibn-Khallikān, Joinville, Abū-l-Fidā, el-Makrīzī, el-‘Aynī;—modern, Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, and various arts.; cf. *Regesta regni Hierosol.*

Monuments.—Tomb of Imām Shāfi‘ī, 1211; completion of the citadel of Cairo; medresa of el-Kāmil (almost disappeared), 1224; tombs of emir Ismā‘il, 1216, and Sheykh el-Fārisī, 1225; minaret of (old) Ḥasaneyn, 1235–6; medresa of es-Sāliḥ Ayyūb, 1243.

Inscriptions.—On monuments enumerated above; ‘Ādil on fortress at Mt. Tabor, 1211.

Caskets of el-‘Ādil II in V. & A. Mus.; *Coins.*—See under each reign.

SINCE 1182, when Saladin left Cairo for the last time, Egypt had played a subsidiary part in the empire of which it was the head. The centre of politics was removed to Syria, and Egypt had to be content to act as a recruiting-ground for the levies which its sultan was constantly demanding for the reinforcement of his exhausted armies. The practice throughout these wars was to fight in the summer; and when the winter rains stopped military movements in Syria and Palestine the various contingents were sent to their homes to recover health and attend to their farms. In Egypt this practice saved much hardship, for the winter was the season for the principal agricultural operations. During the sultan's absence, his brother el-‘Ādil Seyf-ed-din, the "Saphadin" of the Crusaders, administered Egypt with the assistance of the Ḳāḍī el-Kāḍil. In 1184, indeed, he was trans-



III. MUSLIM DYNASTIES

The sultans of Salih from Abu Muhammed Shams, by the son of which show the succession of the sultans of the Ayyubid family in the exact division of the empire. They all descended from five sons of Ayub, Salih, 'Uthman, 'Adil, Mahommed, and Tughluk, except the Emirs from which descended from 'Uthman, Ayub's brother. An upright stroke between successive names indicates sonship.

A.	B. (YAR).	C.	D. MUSLIM DYNASTIES.
El-Nasir 'Uthman 'Uthman (Salih)	—	1160	El-Awfi Wynde (son of 'Adil) — 1202?
El-'Adil 'Uthman (son)	—	1193	El-'Ashraf 'Umar (son of 'Adil, i.e. Ayubid) 1210
El-Mansur Muhammad	—	1198	El-Muzaffar Ghazi (son of 'Adil) — 1230
El-'Adil Sayf-ed-din * (Saphadin)	—	1230	— 1245
El-Kamil Muhammad *	—	1248	El-Hamah.
El-'Adil II *	—	1248	El-Muzaffar I Taki-ed-din 'Umar (son of Mahanshah) — 1278
El-Salih Ayub * (brother)	—	1240	El-Mansur I Muhammad — 1291
El-Mu'azzam Turanshah *	—	1249	El-Nasir Kiliij-Arslan — 1240
El-Ashraf Musa	—	1250	El-Muzaffar II Mahomud (brother) — 1240
	— 1252		El-Mansur II Muhammad — 1244
			El-Muzaffar III Mahomud — 1284

* These Sultans also ruled at Damascus.

En-Nāṣir Mu'īn (son of Sa'adatun)	•	1186	El-Murayyad Abū-J-Fidā (<i>the historian</i> , cousin of the last)	•	1196	El-Murayyad Abū-J-Fidā (<i>the historian</i> , cousin of the last)	•	1310
El-'Ādil Seyf-ed-dīn (<i>see Egypt</i>)	•	1218	El-'Aqīl Muhammad	•	1332	El-'Aqīl Muhammad	•	1332
El-Mu'azzam Ḥīsā	•	1227			—1341			—1341
En-Nāṣir Dāwūd	•	1228	F.—EMESA (HIMŞ).					
El-Ashraf Müsā (<i>of Mesopotamia</i>)	•	1237	El-Kāhir Muhammad (son of Shirkūh)	•	1178	El-Kāhir Muhammad (son of Shirkūh)	•	1178
Es-Sāliḥ Ismā'īl (son of 'Ādil)	•	1238	El-Muğāhib Shirkūh II	•	1185	El-Muğāhib Shirkūh II	•	1185
El-Kāmil (<i>of Egypt</i>)	•	1238	El-Mansūr Ibrāhīm	•	1239	El-Mansūr Ibrāhīm	•	1239
El-'Ādil II "	•	1239	El-Ashraf Müsā	•	1245	El-Ashraf Müsā	•	1245
Es-Sāliḥ Ismā'īl (restored)	•	1245			—1262			—1262
Es-Sāliḥ (<i>of Egypt</i>)	•	1249	G.—ARABIA.					
El-Mu'azzam (<i>of Egypt</i>)	•	1250	El-Muazzam Tūrānshāh (brother of Saladin)	•	1173	El-Muazzam Tūrānshāh (brother of Saladin)	•	1173
En-Nāṣir Yūsuf (<i>of Aleppo</i>)	•	—1260	Seyf-el-Islām Tughtegün (brother of Saladin)	•	1181	Seyf-el-Islām Tughtegün (brother of Saladin)	•	1181
En-Nāṣir Yūsuf (son of Saladin)	•	1186	Mu'izz-ed-dīn Ismā'il (son of Tughtegün)	•	1196	Mu'izz-ed-dīn Ismā'il (son of Tughtegün)	•	1196
El-'Azīz Muhammad	•	1216	En-Nāṣir Yūsuf (son of Tughtegün)	•	1201	El-Mu'azzam Suleyman (grandson of 'Omar)	•	1214
En-Nāṣir Yūsuf (<i>see Damascus</i>)	•	1236	El-Mes'ūl Ṣalāḥ-ed-dīn Yūsuf (son of Kāmil)	•	1215	El-Mes'ūl Ṣalāḥ-ed-dīn Yūsuf (son of Kāmil)	•	1215
		—1260			—1228			—1228

•

•

•

ferred to Aleppo and his nephew Taķī-ed-din 'Omar sent to Egypt instead ; but 'Omar proved intractable, and 'Adil was restored to Cairo in 1186, with Saladin's second son el-'Azīz as nominal chief. 'Adil was the ablest of his brother's kinsmen, a good general and hard fighter, but also and beyond all a skilful diplomatist and shrewd politician. He loyally supported his brother in his campaigns, led the Egyptian contingent to the annual rendezvous in Palestine, distinguished himself especially in several engagements on the plain of 'Akka, and was indefatigable in beating up recruits, equipping ships, and supplying stores and money for Saladin's campaigns. He was personally on a friendly footing with Richard of England, and it was he, and not Saladin, who was a guest in the English camp. One of his sons was knighted by Cœur de Lion,¹ and "the noble Saphadin" was the intermediary to whom Richard applied when he negotiated the treaty of Ramla. Everything indicated el 'Adil as the successor of his heroic brother.

Saladin, however, had naturally ordered the succession in favour of his own sons, three of whom, for some years before his death, had held the governments of the three chief provinces. The eldest, el-Afdal, had Damascus and central Syria ; el-'Azīz, Egypt ; and ez-Zāhir, Aleppo. Their cousins ruled at Hamāh, Hims, and Ba'albekk, and an uncle governed the Yemen. Mesopotamia and Diyār-Bekr became the special appanage of Saladin's brother el-'Adil. From the beginning of this division, however, Egypt was clearly regarded as the supreme province. Damascus struck a coin, in the very year of Saladin's death, in the name of 'Azīz of Egypt, though Afdal was its own ruler. But whatever homage was paid, there was no unity among the members of the family. 'Azīz besieged his brother in Damascus within the year, and though peace was patched up by the mediation of 'Adil and Zāhir, the quarrel broke out again in the

¹ *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, v. II. A similar honour was accorded by Frederick II to the emir Fakhr-ed-din, the general who afterwards commanded at Manṣūra against Louis IX.

following year, when 'Aziz pursued his younger brother into Egypt as far as Elbers. Again the prudent uncle intervened, aided by the venerable Kāfi el-Fādil,¹ who had been Saladin's chief adviser; and 'Aziz found himself saddled with 'Adil as his minister at Cairo, to the detriment of his independent authority. 'Adil had been a loyal right hand to his brother, but he was not the man to let sentiment stand in the way of his own advance. Saladin's sons were breaking up the empire, and 'Adil resolved to reunite it under his own personal command.

The key of the situation he knew to be Egypt. He had carefully argued 'Adil out of his design of seizing Cairo, because he wanted it for himself. Afdal, a pleasure-loving, wine-drinking profligate, would be a danger to Egypt; whereas 'Aziz had all the virtues and the special merit of being peculiarly biddable. He was "full of generosity," says one who knew him;² "most brave and modest, a youth of high morals and no touch of avarice: he knew not how to say no." This was the proper instrument for 'Adil to play on. The two agreed to oust Afdal from Damascus, where his tardy self-reform could not efface the memory of his weaknesses. The city was easily occupied, and delivered over to 'Adil as viceroy under 'Aziz. Friendly with Egypt and master of central Syria, 'Adil now went north to settle his Mesopotamian possessions (1198-9), which after Saladin's death had been threatened by his old rival, the Atābeg of Mōsil. He speedily reduced the country to order, and from that time up to the Mongol invasion the Euphrates country remained in the hands of his sons.

¹¹⁹⁸ ^{July} 'Adil was recalled from the north by the news of the early death of 'Aziz,³ from a fever caught whilst hunting in the Fayyūm, and of the immediate arrival of the

¹ El-Fādil died in Jan., 1199, and his colleague the secretary 'Imād-ed-dīn in 1201. See Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 187-9.

² 'Alx̄l-el-Lat̄if, ed. Sacy, 469.

³ El-'Aziz struck coins at Cairo A.H. 589—595 (1193-8 A.D.); at Alexandria, 589—595; Damascus, 589 and 594; and Aleppo, 592 (1196). The last two were issued by 'Adil and Zāhir, without their own names, in token of vassalage.

family scapegrace, Afdal, at Cairo. Here he posed as guardian to his brother's infant heir, el-Manṣūr,¹ and took the opportunity to lead the Egyptian troops to the conquest of Damascus, aided by Zāhir of Aleppo, who shared his brother's hatred of their uncle. But 'Adil

Feb.

was at Damascus before them, the besiegers retired, and Afdal was forced to capitulate and to deliver up Egypt. 'Adil was now master of the whole of Saladin's empire,² with the exception of Arabia and of northern



Fig. 50.—Dīnār of el-'Adil, Alexandria, 1199.

Syria, where the three dynasties of Aleppo, Hims, and Ḥamāh, whilst recognizing his supremacy and rendering military service, maintained their own virtual independence. The child Manṣūr was soon deposed, and 'Adil appointed his own sons as viceroys (*nāib*) over the various provinces under his control: el-Kāmil represented him in Egypt, el-Mu'azzam at Damascus, el-Awhad, el-Fāiz, el-Ashraf, and el-Hāfiẓ in the several districts of the Tigris and Euphrates country.

Egypt was still the head of the empire, but it was passing through a period of distress. An exceptionally low Nile produced a failure of the crops in 1201,¹²⁰¹⁻² repeated in 1202, and famine and pestilence ensued. The Baghdād physician, 'Abd-el-Laṭīf, who lived at Cairo for ten years (1194–1204), attending the professors' lectures at the Azhar mosque, records the terrible experiences of the famine. The distress was so desperate

¹ El-Manṣūr's coinage is dated A.H. 595, 596 (1198-9) at Cairo and Alexandria.

² El-'Adil struck coins at Cairo A.H. 597–615 (1200–1218); Alexandria, 596–614; Damascus, 599–615; Mayyāṣārīkīn, 591 (1195); Harrān, 591; Edessa, 601, 604 (1204-8). His name was also inscribed as suzerain on the coinage of ez-Zāhir of Aleppo, 599; el-'Azīz of Aleppo, 614; and el-Ashraf of Diyār-Bekr, 612.

that the inhabitants emigrated in crowds, whole quarters and villages were deserted, and those who remained abandoned themselves to atrocious practices. People habitually ate human flesh, even parents killed and cooked their own children, and a wife was found eating her dead husband raw. Men waylaid women in the streets to seize their infants, and baby fricassees and haggis of children's heads were ordinary articles of diet. When detected the criminals were burnt alive; but few were caught. The very graves were ransacked for food. This went on from end to end of Egypt. The roads were death-traps, assassination and robbery reigned unchecked, and women were outraged by the multitude of reprobates whom anarchy and despair had set loose. Free girls were sold at five shillings apiece, and many women came and implored to be bought as slaves to escape starvation. An ox sold for 70*D.*, and corn was over ten shillings the bushel. The corpses lay unburied in the streets and houses, and a virulent pestilence spread over the delta. In the country and on the caravan routes flocks of vultures, hyenas, and jackals mapped the march of death. Men dropped down at the plough, stricken with the plague. In one day at Alexandria an imām said the funeral prayers over 700 persons, and in a single month a property passed to forty heirs in rapid succession. The depreciation of property was disastrous. Owing to the decrease of population, house-rent in Cairo fell to one-seventh of its former price, and the carvings and furniture of palaces were broken up to feed the oven-fires. Violent earthquakes, which were also felt throughout Syria and as far north as Armenia, shook down countless houses, devastated whole cities, and increased the general misery.

Meanwhile 'Adil was steadily consolidating his empire. His chief fear was that the Franks might take advantage of the internal divisions among Saladin's successors to renew the crusade. So, indeed, they did, but in so desultory and feeble a fashion that their efforts scarcely injured the Muslim power. Henry of Champagne, the titular king of Jerusalem, was too weak to venture on a

forward movement, and was obliged to be content to govern his coast cities and observe the truce which 'Aziz had prudently renewed on his accession. The prince of Antioch and Tripolis was perpetually engaged in keeping his neighbour, the Armenian king of Cilicia, at bay. There was no present danger from the Syrian Franks, and if a new crusade were to be set on foot, it must come from Europe. Again the pope, Celestine III, summoned the Christians to the Holy War. England and France were too busy with their own quarrel to listen to his appeal; but the emperor Henry VI took the cross in 1195, assembled an army of 60,000 men and a fleet of forty-four vessels on the Apulian coast, and despatched them under the command of the bishop of Würzburg to 'Akka, where they arrived in September, 1197. The Germans, however, were no welcome allies to the French followers of Henry of Champagne, and found themselves acting alone. 'Adil took advantage of their hesitation to seize Jaffa, and the death of king Henry almost at the same time produced further confusion. Amalric of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, was chosen to succeed him on the imaginary throne of Jerusalem, and married his widow, Isabella, who had already survived three husbands. Not daring as yet to march on Jerusalem, the Germans, after defeating 'Adil near Sidon, seized Beyrūt, which had already been dismantled on their approach, and then in concert with Boemond of Antioch prepared an attack upon the Holy City. At this moment the news came of the sudden death of their emperor; the Germans abandoned the siege of Toron (*Tubnīn*) and hurried home, and 'Adil and 'Aziz were content to make peace.

The Latin Crusade, fortunately for the Muslims, stopped at Constantinople, where it established the Latin kingdom, which lasted for nearly half a century and drew off many adventurers from the Christian forces in Syria. Beyond a few skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Crac des Chevaliers and Markab, and a raid upon the coast of Egypt, no hostilities of importance took place, and in 1204 Amalric made a fresh truce with the Egyp-

tian sultan, who was glad to purchase tranquillity by the restoration of Jaffa and Ramla to the Franks. A similar truce was concluded with Tripolis in 1207. The sultan was a born diplomatist, and always preferred a treaty to a battle. He secured powerful support and corresponding immunity by the commercial treaty which he negotiated with Venice in 1208, whereby the Venetians acquired special trading facilities in Alexandria and up the Nile in return for their alleged good offices in restraining the Crusaders from an advance upon Egypt. Meanwhile Amalric had died in 1205, and his stepdaughter Mary (Isabella's child by Conrad of Montferrat) succeeded to the crown of Jerusalem, and was provided with a husband, John of Brienne, who was presently to show himself a vigorous Crusader; but at first his forces were unequal to any attempt upon the Holy City. Pope Innocent III again sounded the war-cry, but the first response, ¹²¹⁰ the luckless "Children's Crusade," only filled Egypt with youthful captives, betrayed to the enemy. Ashamed, perhaps, at the heroic example of the "children," Andreas, king of Hungary, supported by the grand-duke Leopold of Austria, Hugh of Cyprus, the king of Armenia, Ranulf of Chester, and many nobles and ¹²¹¹ prelates, landed a considerable force at 'Akka, and ^{Oct.} Hungarians, South Germans, Frisians, and Rhinelanders, flocked to their standards. They made three useless expeditions, first to Beysān and even beyond the Jordan; then to the fortress which 'Adil had built on Mount Tabor, which they failed to take; and thirdly against Beaufort. The sultan of Egypt watched their movements, but dared not risk an engagement. Finally the king of Hungary went home in deep chagrin, but some of the Germans remained and helped to strengthen the coast fortresses, and especially to build Castle Pilgrim (Mons Peregrinus) near Haifa.

Before this the Crusaders had begun to realize that the best way of overcoming an enemy is to strike at his vital part. Egypt was the vital part of the Muslim empire, and until Egypt were subdued, petty raids in Palestine were merely a waste of strength. Reinforced

by a fleet of Frisians and men of the Rhine, John of Brienne at last plucked up courage to make a descent upon Damietta. The king of Jerusalem was accompanied by the archduke of Austria, Count William of Holland, the Count of Wied, and the masters of the Temple, Hospital, and Teutonic order, and a large army was soon encamped on the shore of the delta. Damietta was strongly fortified by a triple bastioned wall, by a great tower planted on an island in the Nile, by chains stretched across the river, and by the natural advantages of its position on a peninsula partly defended by water.

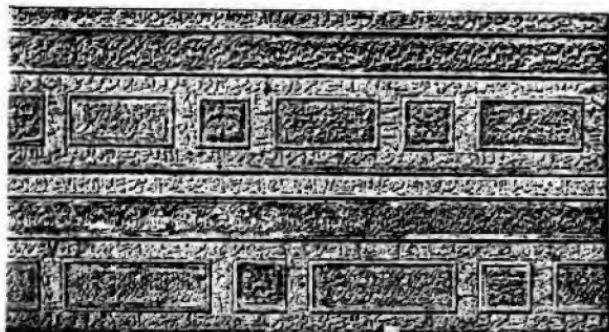


Fig. 51.—Carved border of a sheykh's tomb, 1216.

The Crusaders were on the west bank, and their efforts were directed to capturing the great tower in mid-stream. They set up siege-towers on their ships, with scaling ladders, but the fire and shot of the garrison, strongly supported by Kāmil's army on the east bank, withstood July 1 their first assault. They then lashed vessels together and built a yet more powerful castle, with a drawbridge, and moored it alongside the river tower; and on St. Bartholomew's Day, after a fierce struggle, the defenders Aug. 24 were forced to capitulate.

The loss of this bulwark of Egypt killed the sultan.

'Ādil died on 31 August, 1218, at the age of seventy-three or seventy-five. He had enjoyed a long and brilliant career from the day, fifty years before, when he had entered Egypt with Shirkūh. He had served his famous brother loyally and with exceptional ability for nearly a quarter of a century, and after his death he had spent another twenty-five years in laboriously restoring the powerful empire which Saladin's jealous sons had broken up. He had succeeded in all his plans. Every part of Saladin's empire, except northern Syria, was under his control and governed by one or other of his many sons. Cairo, Damascus, Edessa, Harrān, Gā'bar, Māyyāfārikīn, even the Yemen, had each a son of the great sultan for its governor, and his frequent journeys from end to end of his empire kept each and all in a high state of efficiency and preparedness :—

A Monarch, whose majestic air
 Fills all the range of sight, whose care
 Fills all the regions everywhere ;
 Who such a watch doth keep
 That, save where he doth set his lance
 In rest to check the foe's advance,
 His eye with bright and piercing glance
 Knows neither rest nor sleep.¹

The Franks had been powerless against him ; their little raids had scarcely injured him ; and the few sacrifices of territory he had made—Beyrüt, Jaffa, Nazareth—were well repaid by long intervals of tranquillity, during which he was continually increasing his strength. His personal character must have been attractive, for he won the admiration and friendship of King Richard and many other Crusaders. His oriental biographer² describes him as a man of extraordinary prudence and foresight, armed with information and fortified by experience, and therefore fortunate in all his undertakings. He was endowed

¹ Bahā-ed-dīn Zuheyr, ii. 258, paraphrased by Palmer to preserve the play upon the Arabic word for slumber or rest. Bahā-ed-dīn was a contemporary poet, who afterwards became the confidant and court poet of es-Sālih Ayyūb, 'Adil's grandson.

² Ibn-Khallikan, iii. 235 ff.

with remarkable physical powers, sound health, and high spirits ; a great eater, who could finish off a roast lamb at a meal ; passionately fond of women : he indulged in pleasure with his whole soul, and, like other strong men, made the most of his enjoyments as he did of his work.

¹ He left to his eldest son the difficult task of driving ¹²¹⁸ out the Franks. El-Kāmil¹ inherited many of his father's qualities : he was a good soldier and a skilful diplomatist —too wily, indeed, for the taste of his contemporaries. He set to work at Damietta with great energy, threw a bridge or pontoon over the Nile to obstruct the Frankish vessels, and led repeated but fruitless assaults upon the enemy's position. When the bridge was cut by the Crusaders, he sank ships to block the passage. Camp fever and the Nile inundation did the Christians more damage than his onslaughts, but the very unhealthiness of their camp compelled them to advance. They determined to cross at all hazards, and with this object they deepened a large canal and thus brought their fleet up to a spot thirteen miles south of Damietta. Though ¹²¹⁹ at the first attempt they were frustrated by the solid array of Kāmil's troops on the opposite bank, a conspiracy among the leading Muslim generals, which threatened the sultan's throne, if not his life, and forced him to fly by night up country, produced such confusion that the Crusaders crossed almost unopposed, captured ^{Feb. 7} the Saracen camp, and closed round Damietta. But their difficulties were not yet over. Kāmil, aided by his brother Mu'azzam of Damascus, raised a new army, harassed the besiegers night and day, burnt their bridges, and destroyed their siege-works and entrenchments. In spite of all his efforts, however, the blockade was maintained, and starvation began to do its part. The weary Crusaders were constantly relieved and reinforced from Europe ; French and English knights and men-at-arms

¹ El-Kāmil's coinage is dated Cairo, 616—35 (1219—38) ; Alexandria, 617—34 ; Miṣr, 624 ; Damascus, 615—19, 627 ; Harrān, 623, 635. He also is named as suzerain on coins of el-'Azīz of Aleppo, 619 ; el-Āshraf of Diyār-Bekr, 615, and el-Muẓaffar of Diyār-Bekr, 618, 63x.

under the counts of Nevers and Marche and the earls of Winchester, Arundel, and Chester, came to their support ; whilst the still more exhausted garrison steadily dwindled, till of about 50,000 men only 4000 remained able to stand to arms. The contest was too unequal to last much longer.

Seeing this the sultan asked for terms. He offered to surrender the whole of the kingdom of Jerusalem as it was before Saladin's conquest of 1187, if Damietta were spared. Incredible as it appears, this amazingly profitable exchange was refused as inadequate : further concessions were demanded. The Crusaders were in no humour for terms of any kind. The papal legate, cardinal Pelagius, who had been elected commander-in-chief, filled with the exaltation of a pilgrim of the cross, would have no traffic with the "infidels"; others held that Damietta was too valuable a commercial centre to be abandoned. The king of Jerusalem and the northern knights in vain urged the advantages of the exchange. The cardinal carried the day, and it was resolved to press the war to the uttermost. The greatest opportunity that the Crusaders had ever been offered was irretrievably lost. When Philip Augustus, who had known how the Saracens could fight before Akka, heard that the Crusaders had refused to take a kingdom in exchange for a city, he exclaimed, "They are fools and simpletons!" It is true

^{Nov. 5} Damietta fell by assault, the remnant of the exhausted garrison was ruthlessly massacred, and the alarm of the Muslims was such that they hastily demolished the walls of Jerusalem and other cities in Palestine, lest they might become strongholds of the enemy. But the taking of Damietta did not imply the conquest of Egypt. With their usual incapacity the Franks delayed action, and spent a year and a half at Damietta quarrelling amongst themselves. It was not till July, 1221, that, again strongly reinforced from Germany, they took the field against the sultan. Moreover, they had chosen the wrong route for the conquest of Egypt. Damietta was a valuable port, but it was not the base from which to advance upon Cairo, the essential objective of attack.

¹²²¹

Any army marching on the capital of Egypt would naturally choose the old road from Pelusium to Bilbeys. It had been used again and again by invaders, from the days of Cambyses and Alexander to the conquest of 'Amr and the expeditions of Amalric I. Beyond the hardships of a desert march, it presented no obstacles to the advance upon Cairo. But between Damietta and the capital lay a network of canals and arms of the Nile, offering a dozen obvious positions of defence, and constituting a series of traps to an invading army which was totally ignorant of the geography of the country.¹

By this time Kāmil had built strong fortifications on the Nile, a little south of Damietta, at a village which he afterwards enlarged into the city of el-Mansūra, "the Victorious." He had also summoned his kinsmen, and one and all, laying aside their rivalries in face of the common danger, rallied to his support. Mu'azzam of Damascus had joined him from the first, and now the princes of Aleppo, Hamāh, Hims, Harrān, and every part of the empire, led their contingents to the rescue of their chief. Never since Saladin lay before 'Akka had the dynasty shown a more united front than when they lined the bank of the Nile to dispute the passage of the Crusaders.

The Franks had advanced southwards, but were July speedily brought to a stand by the obstacle of Mansūra and its resolute garrison of hardy Syrians and highlanders from the north, entrenched behind the "canal of Ush-nūm," the old Tanitic arm of the Nile. The season was ill-chosen, for the river was rising; a number of canals intersected the flat low-lying lands of the delta, impeded strategic movements, and enabled the Muslims to bring up a fleet to their support. As soon as the inundation had risen high enough, bodies of Muslim troops spread over the plains behind and around the enemy, and cut the dams which restrained the Nile waters; the country became a lake, and the Crusaders found themselves on a peninsula, surrounded by water and by watchful foes,

¹ See Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 264-5.

and practically cut off alike from advance or retreat.

^{Aug.} On the night of 26 August they made their desperate attempt to escape to Damietta by the narrow causeway that still remained passable. Hardly were they in motion when the enemy was upon them from every quarter. The road to the north was already occupied in force by the Saracens. Struggling through the inundated fields, enmeshed among the deeper canals, the knights fought their way with magnificent valour. For two nights and days the hopeless contest was maintained, and then the Crusaders cried for quarter. The more hot-headed Muslims were for exterminating the "infidels" at one blow; but Kāmil, true to the statesmanlike policy of his father, overruled them. He perceived that generous terms would end the war of the creeds, at least for a time, whilst a butchery would infallibly lead to a crusade of revenge and probably nerve the garrison of Damietta to resistance. ³¹ He allowed the Crusaders to depart; they must evacuate Egypt, surrender Damietta, and keep the peace for eight years. The proviso was added, however, that any crowned European king should have the right to break the truce. A fresh reinforcement from Germany about this time landed near Damietta, and took the news of the treaty in very ill part; but repudiation was out of the question, whilst the main army and valuable hostages were still in the power of the Saracens.

^{Sept.} In a week the whole of the crusading host, which had begun the campaign forty months before with high hopes and signal success, left the shores of Egypt in shame.

All this time there had been no attempt to recover Jerusalem. The neglect was not due merely to strategical reasons. The spirit of the Crusaders had changed; zeal for the faith had mellowed into worldly wisdom. The men on the spot, the Franks settled in Syria, preferred their wealthy coast cities, full of Italian traders and bordered by rich cultivated lands, to the desolate interior of Palestine, laid waste by the struggle with Saladin and the systematic neglect of his successors, who had no wish to tempt the Christians to an occupation. The mer-

chants, and especially the Venetians, seeing no commercial advantages in arid plains, deserted villages, and waterless routes, had fixed their eyes on Damietta and Alexandria, which to them were worth fifty Jerusalems. The old craving for the city of Christ's passion had been quenched in the appetite for wealth. Yet the spirit was not dead: it still animated the indomitable bishops of Rome, and, despite his philosophical attitude towards religion, the call of Christendom compelled the young emperor Frederick II to undertake a new crusade. The peace of 1221 had reserved to a "European crowned head" the right of rupture, and Frederick was clearly indicated in the proviso. He had taken the cross as early as 1215; he had sent troops to reinforce the luckless army in Egypt at the very time of its surrender; in 1225 he married the "heiress of Jerusalem," the daughter of King John of Brienne, and, though Yolande died three years later, he claimed and assumed her crown to the exclusion of her father. His crusade was delayed year after year on one pretext or another, and he brought upon himself the ban of the impatient pope; but at last, despite the papal prohibition, he sailed for Syria, with only 600 knights, more "like a pirate and follower of Mohammad," said Gregory IX, than as a king and a soldier of Christ.

Frederick's Crusade was unique in all its circumstances. He won Jerusalem against the will of the church and without a single battle. His forces, in truth, were too weak to risk an engagement with the powerful armies of the Saracens. His contemptuous treatment of John of Brienne had alienated the sympathies of many of the settled Christians; his contest with Rome lost him the support of zealous churchmen. The religious orders of the Temple and Hospital sullenly refused to follow a leader who was under the curse of the Holy See. No one in Syria seemed to care very much about the recovery of Jerusalem. But Frederick had an argument on his side that outweighed all these negations. Kāmil had encountered a rival in his brother Mu'azzam, the lord of Damascus, who was suspected of taking advantage

of the exhaustion after the siege of Damietta, and of presuming upon his own services in the war, to shake off the sovereign powers¹ that Egypt claimed over the empire of Saladin. Alarmed at this disaffection, Kāmil had sent an embassy to Frederick, as sovereign of the Saracens of Sicily, offering him the kingdom of Jerusalem in exchange for his support. In return bishop Bernard of Palermo had come on a mission to Cairo, and costly presents had been exchanged. Frederick was on exceptionally good terms with the Muslims, and his toleration gave rise to suspicions of his orthodoxy. The pope, as we have seen, called him "a follower of Mohammad," and the correspondence which has been published between the emperor and the Arab philosopher Ibn-Sabin,² together with the metaphysical discussions into which Frederick loved to draw Kāmil's envoys after his arrival in Syria, point at least to what we should now call emancipated views, which in those days were apt, in the case of less distinguished advocates, to lead to the stake. An Arab historian confesses that "the emperor was the most excellent among the kings of the Franks, devoted to science, philosophy and medicine, and well-disposed towards Muslims," and twenty years later Joinville found that his kinship to Frederick was the best passport with the mamlūks. This toleration, probably shared by Kāmil, who had associated with European nobles, doubtless led to a mutual appreciation. There is no evidence that any treaty was signed, but some understanding was arrived at. Meantime the situation was changed. Mu'azzam died in the winter of 1227; the danger of Syrian rivalry was hardly critical enough to press Kāmil to any great renunciation, and it says much for the emperor's diplomacy that he was able to bring his Egyptian correspondent to the point of the treaty, signed on 11 February, 1229, and ratified on oath a week

¹ This is denied by Abū-l-Fidā, who says that Mu'azzam was invariably deferential to Kāmil, and always caused his name to be recited as sovereign in the public prayers.

² Published by Prof. Mehren.

later by the two sovereigns. Kāmil was no doubt in some measure committed by his previous proposals, but his main motive is to be found in the valuable counter-guarantees of the emperor.

The treaty of 1229 was the most remarkable that was ever signed between a Christian and a Mohammedan power, before the days of European engagements with the Turkish empire. On his part the sultan of Egypt surrendered Jerusalem (which was not to be fortified, however), together with Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the pilgrim road to Jaffa and thence to 'Akka, into the absolute possession of the emperor, reserving only the *haram* of Jerusalem, enclosing the mosque of 'Omar, for the exclusive use and possession of unarmed Muslims. He also released all Christian prisoners, including many of the unhappy victims of the "Children's Crusade." The emperor in return engaged to defend the sultan against *all* enemies, even Christians, and guaranteed that the northern Syrian princes of Antioch, Tripolis, and various other places, should receive no assistance from any external power. These engagements were to hold good for ten years and a half.

There is no doubt that, if the treaty were honestly observed, Kāmil gained much more than he lost by it. The territory sacrificed was of little value, and the only part of Jerusalem specially sacred to the Muslims was reserved; whilst the advantages of the emperor's defensive alliance were overwhelming. However satisfactory the result may have appeared to the two high contracting parties, the treaty roused a storm of indignation among the zealots of both sides. The Holy City was indeed once more Christian—save one part—but at what a cost of honour! Frederick, said the papal party, had bargained with the "infidels" instead of slaying them. Most of the old Latin kingdom was still in the hands of the Saracens. And the prince of Antioch, and the military orders who held many castles in the north of Syria, deeply resented the clause that cut them off from all succour from Europe; it looked, indeed, very much like a spiteful revenge for their disaffection. The

Muslims, for their part, regarded the whole transaction as a shameful betrayal of Islam to the "infidel."

May 1229 Frederick entered Jerusalem within a month of the treaty, and, enthroning himself in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, set the crown upon his own head. The next day the archbishop of Caesarea placed the Holy City under an interdict, to the amazement and indignation of the crowds of pilgrims: "the place where Jesus Christ suffered and was buried," they cried, "is banned by a pope!" Scared by the calamity, they hurriedly followed the emperor to Akka, whence, after appointing honest men to govern his new acquisitions, and strengthening by all possible means the Teutonic order, he sailed for Italy. The Crusade was over, and though it had procured the recovery of Jerusalem, the city was in the midst of a hostile country and could not be held against any attack in force. Kamil religiously observed the treaty he

had sworn (as did the Christians by the pope's reconditioned order), but he could not always prevent bands of fanatical Muslims from ill-using the pilgrims and disturbing the peace of the Holy City. The emperor's haughty treatment of many of the Syrian and Cypriote nobles left unhealed wounds and led to a series of quarrels. The gain to Christendom from the Crusade was insignificant, but the fault lay more with the



Fig. 52.—Eagle on Citadel of Cairo, probably early 13th century.

pope and his supporters than with the indiscreet emperor.

The nine remaining years of Kāmil's life were free from crusading molestation, and also from serious rivalry among his own kindred. His title to be the head of the various provinces ruled by the Ayyūbids was generally recognized. He appointed his brother Ashraf as viceroy at Damascus, and the two brothers made an expedition into the Euphrates country, and took Āmid from the Ortukid prince whose ancestors had reigned there for 130 years. Kāmil endeavoured to cement the family union by marrying his daughters to the princes of Aleppo and Hamāh, and though unsuccessful in a campaign against Kay-Kubād,¹²³³ the Selgūk sultan of Asia Minor, he recovered Edessa¹²³⁴ from him, and maintained his authority over the whole¹²³⁵ of the empire inherited from his father. It was not maintained without friction, for the minor princes of his family regarded him with jealous suspicion and distrusted his crafty diplomacy.

There was a rupture with Ashraf in 1236, and on his death in 1237 Kāmil marched upon Damascus to assert his rights as supreme king. The city was defended by his brother es-Sālih Ismā'il, supported by



Fig. 53.—Dinār of el-Kāmil, Alexandria, 1225.

the lords of Aleppo and Hims, who were not descended from 'Ādil and had always held as aloof as they dared from him and Kāmil. After a vigorous siege, an accommodation was arranged; the Egyptian sultan¹²³⁸ was given Damascus, Sālih received Ba'albek and other cities; and Hims was punished for meddling. But the exposure and hardships of a winter campaign proved too much for Kāmil's strength; fever ensued, and at Damascus^{Jan.} he died. For forty years he had governed Egypt, twenty⁸ before and twenty after 'Ādil's death. As a statesman he was his father's equal, prudent and firm in counsel,

an energetic and capable administrator, who managed his kingdom alone. After the death of his father's wezir, Ṣafi-ed-din, he employed no prime minister, but performed all the business of the state himself. Egypt prospered exceedingly under his reign. He laboured to improve the irrigation system, personally inspected the work of the engineers, extended and improved the canals, dikes, and dams, ensured the safety of travellers, completed the fortification of the Citadel of Cairo ; and being a devout Muslim he founded many institutions, such as the Dār-el-Hadīth or Kāmiliya college in the Beyn-el-Kasreyn. Like most of his family he loved learning and the society of scholars, and was able to hold his own in the literary debates which took place at his Thursday evening receptions.

He was succeeded by his son el-Ādil II,¹ a profligate who was deposed by a conspiracy among his officers in a couple of years, when his brother es-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb² assumed the throne. The chief events of Ṣāliḥ's reign took place in



Fig. 54.—Dinūr of es-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, Cairo, 1239.

Syria, where he had a determined enemy in his uncle, es-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il, who had seized Damascus in 1239 and now sought to strengthen himself by the support of the Franks, to whom he surrendered the castles of

¹²³⁹ Shekif, Ṣafad, Tiberias, and Ascalon. The Christians, Nov. however, were in no very efficient condition. The disastrous crusade of the king of Navarre, the duke of

¹ The younger 'Ādil's coins are dated Cairo, 635—37 (1238—40) ; Damascus, 635. He died in prison in the citadel of Cairo in Feb., 1248. There is a casket of inlaid silver and brass bearing his titles in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington.

² Es-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb struck coins at Cairo, 637—46 (1240—48) ; Damascus, 644, 645 ; and he is named as suzerain on a coin of en-Nāṣir of Damascus, 647 (1249).

Burgundy, and the count of Montfort, defeated at Gaza, and barely rescued from destruction by the prudence of Richard of Cornwall and Simon of Montfort, paralyzed the energy of the Franks. The savage Khwārizmian tribes, driven westward by the invasion of Chingiz Khān, and called in by Sāliḥ Ayyūb to aid in the extirpation of the Christians, took Jerusalem, massacred 7000 of the helpless inhabitants, and restored the Holy City once more and finally to Islām. The combined forces of the Franks and the Syrian Muslims were disastrously routed by the Egyptians and Khwārizmians near Gaza ; Ayyūb recovered Damiascus (1245), and Ascalon (1247); and restored his kingdom to the same height of power that it had reached under his father and grandfather. His victori-

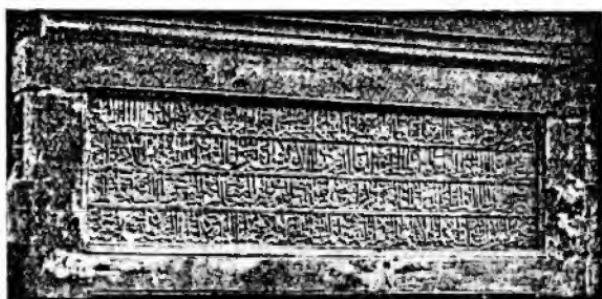
¹²⁴¹¹²⁴⁴^{Sept.}^{Oct.}

Fig. 55.—Inscription on tomb of es-Sāliḥ Ayyūb, at Cairo, 1252.

ous campaigns were only checked by a severe illness, during which he received the despatch announcing Louis IX's invasion of Egypt. He immediately had himself transported in a litter to the threatened scene of war.

The Crusade of Louis of France was perhaps the only expedition since the days of Godfrey of Bouillon that deserved the name of a Holy War. It was led by a saintly hero, a veritable Sir Galahad, whose "whole life was a prayer, his whole aim to do God's will"; a king

¹²⁴⁹

whose high and noble character inspired universal trust and reverence ; a leader whose courage and endurance rested on the sanctions of faith as well as on the obligations of knightly honour. The very loftiness and purity of his nature, however, were impediments in controlling an unruly and licentious army, but the main cause of his lamentable failure is to be sought partly in his ignorance of the topography of the field of action, partly in the inadequacy of his force. His was no crusade of all Europe, such as St. Bernard had excited ; Germany and Italy were absorbed in the quarrel between pope and emperor, and the king of France had to depend mainly on his own subjects. He collected some 2800 French knights, with their numerous squires and men-at-arms, and 5000 archers, and these were joined by small contingents from England, Cyprus, and the Syrian Franks.¹ The French sailed in 1720 ships, but the larger half was dispersed by storms between Cyprus and Egypt and driven into the Syrian ports, and only 700

¹²⁴⁹ vessels reached Damietta at the beginning of June.² ^{June} The city was garrisoned by Arabs of the Kināna tribe, famous for their bravery, supported by an Egyptian army under Fakhr-ed-din ; but no sooner had the French appeared than the garrison fled, followed by all the inhabitants, and the Egyptians fell back on Mansūra.

Louis occupied Damietta almost without striking a blow. Like John of Brienne he had landed on the wrong side of the Nile, but as the enemy in their haste had neglected to destroy the pontoons, he crossed without difficulty. Again, like his predecessor of thirty years before, he committed the fatal mistake of delaying his advance. His one chance was to push on to Cairo before the Nile rose and whilst the Saracens, panic-stricken at the loss of Damietta, were paralyzed by the illness of their dying sultan, whose stern execution of the

¹ The Arab historians estimate the total force in round figures at 50,000.

² According to Joinville, 27 May ; but most authorities place the occupation of Damietta, which took place immediately after the arrival of the fleet, on June 5 or 6.

fugitive Kināna scarcely reassured his followers. Instead of this, the French waited at Damietta nearly six months, expecting the arrival of the rest of the troops who had been driven to Syria. These reached the seat of war in October, and a debate was then held whether to go to Oct. Alexandria or to march direct upon Cairo. It was decided to "strike at the head of the snake," and the Nov. march towards Cairo began. Once more the vicious precedent of 1219 was followed. Forgetful or ignorant of the disastrous lessons then learnt, the Crusaders again risked the endless obstacles of an advance through a country intersected by deep canals and arms of the Nile, instead of choosing a fresh departure and an easy march through open country from Pelusium. They took a month to work their way less than fifty miles up the river, and all this time, during nearly seven months of unexpected grace, the Saracen army had been constantly reinforced, and had so completely recovered from its panic that the Christians were frequently surprised in their tents by adventurous Muslims, eager to win the reward offered for every "infidel" head.

The French were brought to a stop at exactly the same spot as their unfortunate precursors of 1219. They reached Sharmesa at the corner where the old Tanitic Dec. branch of the Nile—then known as the canal of Ushmūm, and now as the Little River (*Bahr-es-Sugheyyir*)²¹—divides eastwards from the great Damietta arm. On their right was the main course of the eastern Nile, in front the Little River, on the opposite side of which could be seen the camp of the Egyptian army resting on the town of Mansūra, some four miles south of the point where the rivers divided,¹ and supported by ships on the

¹ The Rev. E. J. Davis, of Alexandria, in his *Invasion of Egypt by Louis IX*, 32–34, gives some interesting topographical details derived from local observation and researches. He states that in 1249 the Little River branched off from the Damietta arm some four or five miles north of Mansūra, instead of (as now) close to the town. Joinville's name for the Little River, "canal de Rexi," he derives from the village of Derekṣa, still existing, and not from "Rosetta," thus vindicating Joinville from an absurd mistake. He also records the discovery of a large number of skulls, pronounced to be European,

main stream. To advance, one or other of the two rivers must be crossed, and Louis chose the smaller. He immediately began throwing a dam or causeway across the Little River, and before Christmas he had erected two "cats" or pent-houses to protect the working parties, and a couple of belfries or armed towers to guard the cats. The Saracens on the other side undermined the bank, which was speedily washed away by the stream, so as to maintain the breadth of the channel, and they directed a heavy discharge of missiles from their sixteen stone-slings (*perrières, petrariae*) upon the French defences. The latter replied from eighteen machines, and an artillery duel was kept up across the river for some time. The causeway was the centre of the attack. The Muslims harassed the working parties by a sustained fire of bolts, arrows, and stones, by land and water, and twice they destroyed the cats and other wooden works by a copious discharge of Greek fire. To add to the dangers of this position, they crossed the Little River at a lower part, and attacked the king's army from the rear. They were beaten off, but Louis had now to entrench his camp on the north-east, and guard it on all sides.

The causeway was still unfinished, the river as impassable as ever, when a traitor—some "infidel of Salmūn," it was said—betrayed a secret ford, higher up the Little River, for 500 gold pieces; and on

^{Feb. 9} Shrove Tuesday, the king of France took the flower of his knights, his mounted men, and horse-archers to the place. The cavalry crossed in three divisions or "battles;" first, the Templars, then the second division and horse-archers, under the king's brother, Robert count of Artois, and in the rear, the king's battle and his personal following. The passage was unopposed, though not unobserved, but no sooner had the count of Artois reached the other side than, in direct disobedience of the king's orders, he insisted on an immediate ad-

scattered over a considerable area, "like a vast cemetery," north-east of Manṣūra, which he believes to be the remains of the Crusaders who fell in the battle of Shrove Tuesday.

vance against the enemy. The master of the Temple and William Longsword, titular earl of Salisbury, vainly prayed him to wait till the king's division had crossed. He replied with taunts, which left them no option but to join him in his foolhardy gallop. They all charged furiously through the Saracens' camp¹ right into Mansūra and out at the other side. They slew the Muslim commander-in-chief, Fakhr-ed-din, who was in the bath and had barely time to get his weapons. He had been knighted by Frederick II, but his knighthood did not save him. The Crusaders broke up into scattered bands, and enjoyed their fill of personal encounters, regardless of any formation or precaution against attack. They were even venturing upon the conquest of the sultan's palace on the river bank behind the city, when their well-deserved fate overtook them.

The ordinary Egyptian and Arab levies had broken in disorder, but the trusty squadrons of perhaps 10,000 mamlūks, whom Ṣalih had carefully trained as a *corps d'élite*, were not so easily scared. They rallied near the palace, and their furious charge under Beybars the Arbalesteer turned the fortune of the day. The Crusaders were driven into the narrow streets of Mansūra, which were already barricaded and the windows and roofs manned by archers; and here or in the entanglements of the tents the chivalry of France was cut to pieces. The count of Artois and 300 of his knights were killed; of the Templars scarcely five escaped; Longsword and nearly all the English stood their ground to the death; the horse-archers were exterminated, and the Muslims reckoned 1500 knights and nobles among the dead. The remnant were driven towards the Little River, where Louis, after repeated charges, had succeeded in gaining a position opposite the unfinished causeway. In repelling the assaults of the mamlūks, the king exposed himself to great danger, and many of his best knights were captured and

¹ This is not clear in Joinville, but appears evident from the letter of Jean Pierre Sarrasin to Nicholas Arrode, printed at the end of Michel's edition of Joinville.

rescued. It was impossible with swordsmen alone to drive off the mounted bowmen of the enemy, who held the advantage of a long range ; but the army on both sides of the river had been desperately hard at work building a make-shift bridge over the space still open between the causeway and the south bank. The captured *perrières* and other engines of the enemy, fascines, and timber of all sorts, furnished the material ; and by sunset the duke of Burgundy, who commanded the camp, was able to send across a body of infantry cross-bowmen, under the constable of France, who effectually covered the exhausted remnant of the cavalry, and compelled the mamlūks to draw off. Before this, however, many of the French, in panic, had plunged their horses into the river in the hope of reaching the camp, and the stream was dark with the floating bodies of drowned men and horses.

The battle of Mansūra was but a Pyrrhic victory. Louis indeed held possession of the south shore of the Little River, and had captured the enemy's camp and destroyed their war-engines. But he had lost perhaps half his cavalry and all his horse-archers, and had so little discomfited the Saracens that in three days they were vigorously attacking the bridge-head which he had constructed to guard the causeway, whilst he was only able to maintain the defensive. The battle is a signal illustration of the essential interdependence of cavalry and infantry. Without his foot archers, Louis would have been driven into the river. It was probably inevitable that his advance across the ford should be made by mounted men alone ; but once across, their first object should have been to get into touch with the infantry left behind on the north side, and to complete the bridge. This was clearly the king's plan, and its ruin was solely due to the impetuosity of the count of Artois.¹

The chief credit of the day belongs to the steady

¹ Mr. Oman has ably criticized the battle of Mansūra in his *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 338—50.

fighting of the mamlüks, who bore the brunt of the battle and inflicted the chief punishment upon their rash opponents. Their steadiness was the more remarkable because they were without a king to lead them. Sālih Ayyūb had died on Nov. 21, when the French were just setting forth from Damietta on their fatal march. He is described as a prince of strong character, ascetic, taciturn, severe, and intensely proud and autocratic. He was ambitious, and undoubtedly maintained and even enhanced all the power he had inherited from el-Kāmil.¹ His death at the critical moment was a serious disaster. His eldest son Tūrānshāh was far away at Keyfa in Diyār-Bekr. The natural result of an interregnum at such a time would be a struggle between rival emirs for the regency or even the throne, and the collapse of any organization against the enemy. Fortunately, Sālih left in his harem a singularly capable woman—a Turkish, or, as some say, Armenian slave, named Sheger-ed-durr ("Pearl-spray"). She at once took charge of the situation. Calling together two or three trusty emirs, she formed her plans in consultation. The sultan's death was concealed; he was given out to be seriously ill, but his meals were regularly sent in to where he was supposed to lie, and the necessary orders of state duly appeared, authenticated by his autograph forged by Suheyl the eunuch. Whatever suspicions may have been aroused, no overt disturbances occurred, and Sheger-ed-durr and her officers managed the government and defence of the country with unqualified success. She was still the mainspring of the state, holding the court, receiving the ministers and generals on behalf of her "sick" master, and watching over the discipline of the army, when the battle of Mansūra was fought. Through all the anxious time between November and February, when the heir, who had been urgently summoned, at last arrived, Sheger-ed-durr held the Muslim kingdom together.

¹ He built the castle of Rōda, and that of Kebsh, between Cairo and Fustāt, besides the town of Sālihiya. His tomb-mosque still stands in the Beyn-el-Kaṣreyn at Cairo.

Feb. When Tûrânshâh came, she immediately resigned her temporary authority. The young man, who enjoyed no very popular reputation, at least conducted the campaign with energy and skill. His first move was to take a number of ships to pieces and transport them on camel-back to a point on the Damietta arm of the Nile at some distance below the French fleet ;¹ there they were put together, and the result of the stratagem was the capture of thirty-two French ships and the stopping of all supplies for the crusading army. Louis was now in a hopeless position. He was not strong enough to break through the enemy and force his way to Cairo ; his supplies were cut off, and the troops began to feel the effects of low rations, added to the deadly influence of camp fever. Still he waited, too proud to turn his back upon the enemy, though he retired to the north side of the Little River, still holding the bridge-head on the south. At last he opened negotiations, in the vain hope that the Saracens would renew the terms offered by Kâmil in 1219—an exchange of Damietta for the kingdom of Jerusalem—but this time it was the Muslims who declined the bargain. Finally, when the army was all but starving, and fever, want, and wounds had exhausted its strength, the king burned his war-engines, abandoned his camp and baggage, and set out by night on the desperate retreat towards Damietta, himself taking the post of danger in the rearguard. In the confusion, the bridge and causeway over the river were left standing. The Saracens streamed over in pursuit, massacred the abandoned sick, kept up a running fight as far as Fâreskûr, two-thirds of the way to Damietta, and there made an end of the Christian army. Tûrânshâh himself wrote that 30,000 Crusaders were slain ; it is at least certain that almost the whole French host was either

Apr.
5-6

¹ They were probably transported "from the Nile at Semennûd overland to the great canal which issues from the canal of Mahalla a little to the south of the town of that name. In 1249 this canal communicated with the Nile a long distance down by means of a side canal" (Davis, 46).

killed or taken prisoners, and of the prisoners all except those of gentle birth were massacred.

King Louis was laid low with fever when he was taken, and the Sieur de Joinville, who wrote the moving chronicle of the crusade and himself played a brave man's part in the battle of Mansūra, was also among the captives. They were eventually held to ransom for 100,000 livres (10,000,000 francs) for the lives of the army, and the surrender of Damietta in exchange for the king. It is related that Louis exhibited such regal indifference when the amount of the ransom was stated to him, that Tûrânshâh, not to be outdone, reduced the sum by a quarter. The prisoners went in great peril when the sultan, who had contrived to make himself generally hated in his two months' reign, had offended his stepmother and slighted the Bahri generals, was murdered by the mamlûks.¹ Happily, the woman who had already saved Egypt again assumed the throne, and the terms of ransom were honourably confirmed, in spite of the opposition of the more fanatical Muslims. The French went to Damietta, where Louis's queen had scraped together the stipulated half of the ransom. Thence he sailed in May for 'Akka, with the remnant of Nov. his gallant and unfortunate army. Damietta, which had tempted so many Christian invasions, was soon afterwards razed to the ground and rebuilt on a safer site further inland, whilst a boom was stretched across the mouth of the river.

With the murder of Tûrânshâh, the Ayyûbid dynasty came to an end in Egypt. The mamlûks were now the masters, and their history belongs to the next chapter. Beyond 'Abd-el-Laṭîf's description of the famine years, we have few detailed notices of the internal condition of Egypt under the sultans of the line of Saladin. The general but vague testimony of the historians goes to show that the country was prosperous as a rule, and that the three kings, whose reigns cover nearly the

¹ Joinville was an eye-witness of the murder, which was accomplished in the river where the sultan was swimming to escape with a sword stuck in his ribs.

whole interval from 1196 to 1250, were intelligent and capable governors, fully alive to the agricultural interests of the land, and to the importance of order and justice. We hear of no revolts or conspiracies, except against two notoriously unworthy sultans. Of the high character and cultivated tastes of the three chief rulers, 'Ādil, Kāmil, and Sālih, we have contemporary evidence from Ibn-Khallikān, Ibn-el-Athir, and Bahā-ed-din Zuheyr; and it is clear that the society which these learned men, and 'Abd-el-Latīf, met in Cairo was intellectually distinguished and found appreciation at the court. Bahā-ed-din was the secretary and intimate of Sālih, and his poetry reflects the court life of Egypt before the middle of the thirteenth century. It is not what is generally expected in oriental poetry, but in its playfulness, *bonhomie*, humour, and light treatment of serious things, it more resembles European *vers de société*, whilst in some of its panegyrics it succeeds in being stately without affectation, and admiring without servility. The Ayyūbid kings showed a business-like readiness to open the country to European trade. In 1208 'Ādil granted special facilities to the Venetians throughout Egypt, and allowed them to build a fundak or mart, called the Sūk-ed-dik, at Alexandria. Similar privileges were granted about the same time to the Pisans, who sent a consul to Alexandria, and these concessions were renewed in 1215-0. The Christian invasion of 1219 naturally interfered with commercial relations, and no further record of trading privileges occurs till 1238, when 'Ādil II confirmed their former rights to the Venetians. The duties paid by non-Muslim traders on all goods imported into Egypt was a tenth of their value.¹

¹ In an interesting description of Fustāt, Ibn-Sa'īd, the Spanish Moor, states that "ships and vessels of all sorts arrive from all the lands of the earth at the quays on the Nile. . . . As for the merchandise from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea which comes to Fustāt, it is beyond description, for it is here collected, not at Cairo, and from here it is forwarded to all parts of the country." The passage has been translated by Mr. Corbet (see Mrs. Fletcher's *Church of Egypt*, ii. 148-51).

The relations of the Ayyūbids with their Christian subjects grew more friendly as time went on. Saladin and his brother 'Adil had been severe and exacting, but Kāmil was recognized by the church of Egypt as the most generous and beneficent sovereign they ever had. As prince regent he often interceded with his father in favour of the Christians, and when he succeeded him he continued the same policy, and resolutely refused to meddle in the petty squabbles of the "national church." His correspondence with the emperor Frederick showed a toleration which was rare among Muslims, and apparently led the Christians to believe that the sultan might be converted. St. Francis of Assisi himself visited the court in 1219, and preached before Kāmil, and was at least received with respect; and in 1245 we find Ṣālīḥ writing to pope Innocent IV regretting that he was unable to argue with the Preaching Friars by reason of the impediment of an unknown language. The crusade of St. Louis, however, exasperated the Saracens, and it is said that 115 churches were destroyed in consequence of the conquest of Damietta.

As a whole the period of Ayyūbid rule in Egypt, in point of imperial power, internal prosperity, and resolute defence against invasion, stands pre-eminent in the history of the country.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST MAMLUKS

1250—1277

Authorities.—Abū-l-Fidā, en-Nuweyrī, el-Makrizī, el-'Aynī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, es-Suyūtī; modern—Weil, *Geschichte des Abbasidenchafifats in Egypten*; Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamloks*, and *Mém. sur l'Egypte*; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, and *Catalogue Or. Coins in B.M.*; Röhricht, *Regesta*; Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii.

Monuments at Cairo.—Tomb-mosque of es-Şāliḥ Ayyūb, 1250; tomb of Sheger-ed-durr; madresa (1262), and mosque of es-Zāhir Beybars, 1267-9; Dār-el-'Adl, below ramparts of citadel.

Inscriptions.—On monuments above; emir Bilbek in chapel of Fātima, 1254; tomb of 'Abd-er-Kahmān el-Kurashi, 1259; Beybars in Azhar, 1266; on citadel of Damascus, 1261; at tomb of Khālid at Ilims, 1266, 1267; on white mosque at Ramla, 1267; at Karak, 1271; at Ḫāfiẓ, Crac des Chevaliers, Bāniās, Yubna, Lydda, and el-Kāf (M. van Berchem, *Corpus and Inscr. Ar. de Syrie*, and MSS. notes).

Coin.—See under each reign.

THE word *mamlük* means “owned,” “belonging to,” and was specially applied to white male slaves captured in war or purchased in the market. The habit of employing a large body-guard of foreign and especially Turkish slaves dates from the time of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdād (see above, pp. 59ff.), who imported the handsome vigorous youth of central Asia to protect them against the Arab tribes and the rising power of the provincial governors, and found that their Turkish guard became their gaolers. In the same fashion the most able and ambitious of the slave generals of the Selġūk sultans became the founders of the numerous independent dynasties that gradually shared what was left of the Selġūk empire. The practice of employing slave officers and troopers naturally prevailed among the dynasties that had risen from the same condition. Nür-ed-din and Saladin were surrounded by choice companies of mamlūks, brought up with peculiar care,

exercised in all manly exploits, splendidly equipped and trained in the art of war. The system of a *halka* or bodyguard of white slaves or freed-men was continued under Saladin's successors, and was brought to the highest pitch of efficiency by his grandnephew es-Sâlih Ayyûb. This sultan had early experience of the jealousies of his kinsmen and the hostility of the Franks; he put little trust in the ordinary Egyptian and Arab levies, and created a small but perfectly trained army of purchased slaves, his personal property, who owed everything to his favour. He imported these mamlûks from various markets, but wherever they were bought, the great majority were Turks. The *corps d'élite* of picked horsemen were stationed at the castle which he had built on the island of Rôda, opposite Fustât, on the Nile, and from their river barracks they acquired the name of the fluvial or "Bahri Mamlûks," "the white slaves of the river." They were not the only mamlûks in his service, by any means, but they were the most favoured and powerful regiment. The circumstance of slavery was so far from a stigma that a little later we find a celebrated emir (Kâwsûn) looked askance upon because he had *not* been a slave, and the relationship of slave to master in the east has always approached kinship more nearly than servitude. The Bahris were proud of their origin, and it formed no bar to their advancement. Their colonels, or "emirs of a thousand," exercised great influence, and one of them, Fâris-ed-din Akûtai, succeeded Fakhr-ed-din as commander-in-chief after the battle of Mansûra. These officers had already risen, before Sâlih's death, from the ranks of the common slaves to posts of honour at their master's court; they had become cup-bearers, or tasters, or masters of the horse, and had won their enfranchisement; and these freed mamlûks became in turn the masters and owners of other mamlûks. Thus at the very beginning of their history we find a number of powerful emirs who had acquired a large body of retainers whom they led to battle and who were ready to support them to the death. After the murder of Tûrânshâh, which was the work of the Bahris, it was but a short step to

the throne, and for the next 130 years the colonels of this celebrated regiment, and their descendants, rapidly succeeded each other as sultans of Egypt.¹ The only title to kingship among these nobles was personal prowess and the command of the largest number of adherents. In the absence of other influences the hereditary principle was no doubt adopted, and we find one family, that of Kalā'ūn, maintaining its succession to the throne for several generations; but as a rule the successor to the kingly power was the most powerful lord of the day, and his hold on the throne depended chiefly on the strength of his following and his conciliation of the other nobles. The annals of mamlük dominion are full of instances of a great lord reducing the authority of the reigning sultan to a shadow, and then stepping over his murdered body to the throne. Most of these sultans died violent deaths at the hands of rival emirs, and the safety of the ruler of the time depended mainly upon the numbers and courage of his guard. This body-guard enjoyed remarkable privileges and was the object of continual solicitude on the part of the sultan. As his own safety and power depended upon the guards' fidelity, he was accustomed to bestow upon them grants of lands, rich dresses of honour, and unstinted largesse. The greater part of the land of Egypt came to be held by the emirs and soldiers of the guard in fiefs granted by the crown. These soldiers of the guard numbered several thousand, and must have passed from sultan to sultan at every change of ruler; their colonels became important factors in the choice of rulers, and often deposed or set up a king as seemed good to them. The sultan, or chief mamlük, was in fact more or less, according to his character, at the mercy of the officers of his guard; and the principal check he possessed upon their ambition or discontent was found in their own mutual jealousies, which might be played upon so as to neutralize their opposition.

¹ Some of the following pages are reprinted, with emendations, from my *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, ch. iii.

Each of the great lords, were he an officer of the guard, or a court official, or merely a private nobleman, was a mamlūk sultan in miniature. He, too, had his guard of mamlūk slaves, who waited at his door to escort him in his rides abroad, were ready at his behest to attack the public baths and carry off the women, defended him when a rival lord besieged his palace, and followed him valiantly as he led the charge of his division on the field of battle. These great lords, with their retainers, were a constant menace to the reigning sultan. A coalition would be formed among a certain number of disaffected nobles, with the support of some of the officers of the household or of the guard, and their retainers would mass in the approaches to the royal presence, while a trusted cup-bearer or other officer, whose duties permitted him access to the king's person, would strike the fatal blow; and the conspirators would forthwith elect one of their number to succeed to the vacant throne. This was not effected without a struggle; the royal guard was not always to be bribed or overcome, and there were generally other nobles whose interests attached them to the reigning sovereign rather than to any possible successor, except themselves, and who would be sure to oppose the plot. Then there would be a street fight; the terrified people would close their shops, run to their houses, and shut the great gates which isolated the various quarters and markets of the city; and the rival factions of mamlūks would ride through the streets that remained open, pillaging the houses of their adversaries, carrying off women and children, holding pitched battles in the road, or discharging arrows and spears from the windows upon the enemy in the street below. These things were of constant occurrence, and the life of the merchant classes of Cairo must have been exciting. We read how the great bazar, called the Khān-el-Khalīlī, was sometimes shut up for a week while these contests were going on in the streets without, and the rich merchants of Cairo huddled trembling behind the stout gates.

The uncertainty of the tenure of power, and the

general brevity of their reigns (they average about five years), make it the more astonishing that the mamlük sultans found leisure to promote the many noble works of architecture and engineering which distinguish their rule above any other period of Egyptian history since the Christian era. The actual office of sultan was no sinecure, apart from the constant vigilance needed to manage the refractory mamlüks. The sultan was supreme judge, and had to sit regularly, not only to hear causes, but to receive complaints and petitions from any subject who chose to present them. He had to control a large correspondence, and most sultans took a personal share in drafting the dispatches to all parts of the empire and to foreign powers. The most famous and energetic of all the Bahri sultans, Beybars, established a well-organized system of posts, connecting every part of his wide dominions with the capital. Relays of horses were in readiness at each posting-house, and twice a week the sultan received and answered reports from all parts of the realm. Besides the ordinary mail, there was also a pigeon post, which was no less carefully managed. The pigeons were kept in cots in the Citadel and at the various stages, which were further apart than those of the horses ; the bird was trained to stop at the first post-cot, where its letter would be attached to the wing of another pigeon for the next stage. The royal pigeons had a distinguishing mark, and when one of these arrived at the Citadel with a dispatch, none was permitted to detach the parchment save the sultan himself ; and so stringent were the rules, that were he dining or sleeping or in the bath, he would nevertheless at once be informed of the arrival, and would immediately proceed to disencumber the bird of its message. The correspondence conducted by these posts was often very considerable, as may be seen by an example of the business hours of Beybars. He arrived before Tyre one night ; a tent was immediately pitched by torchlight, the secretaries, seven in number, were summoned, with the commander-in-chief ; and the adjutant-general (*Emir 'alam*) with the military secretaries were instructed to

draw up orders. For hours they ceased not to write letters and diplomas, to which the sultan affixed his seal ; this very night they indited in his presence fifty-six diplomas for high nobles, each with its proper introduction of praise to God.

In addition to necessary business, state ceremonies occupied no inconsiderable part of the sultan's time. The mamlük court was a minutely organized system, and the choice of officers to fill the numerous posts of the household, and the tact demanded in satisfying their jealousies and disagreements, to say nothing of the constant presentation of ceremonial dresses of honour, the writing of diplomas, and granting of titles and appanages, must have been a tax upon their master. The posts about the royal person were valuable and highly prized, and it needed some diplomacy to arrange the cabinet and household appointments to the satisfaction of everybody. Besides the great officers of state, such as the Viceroy (*Nāib-es-Saltana*) or Wezir, Commander-in-Chief (*Atābeg-el-'Asākir* or *Emir-el-Kebir*), the Master of the Household (*Ustāddār*), Captain of the Guard (*Rās-Nawba*), Armour-bearer (*Silāhdār*), Master of the Horse (*Emir-Akkōr*), Cup-bearer (*Sākī*), Taster (*G'ūshnekīr*), Chamberlain, Equerry, Secretaries, Grooms-in-Waiting, etc., there were many smaller posts, which often commanded great power and influence. The *Emir-Meğlis*, "Lord of the Seat," so called because he enjoyed the privilege of sitting in the sultan's presence, was the superintendent of the court physicians and surgeons ; the *G'amdār*, or Master of the Wardrobe, was a high official ; the *Emir-Shikār*, or Grand Huntsman, assisted the king in the chase ; the *Emir-Tabar*, or Master of the Halberds, held almost the rank of the Captain of the Guard, and commanded the *Tabardārs*, or Halberdiers, the Gentlemen-at-Arms of the sultan, ten in number ; the *Bashmakdār* carried the sovereign's slippers ; the *G'ükāndār* bore the sultan's polo-stick, a staff of painted wood about four cubits long, with a curved head ; the *Zimāmdārs* were eunuch guards. The various household departments had also their officers, who were often great

The following is a list of the
names of the men who were
employed by the State of New
Mexico during the year 1850.
The names are arranged
in alphabetical order, and the
number of days employed,
the amount paid, and
the name of the
employer.
New Mexico
1850.

carried the *ghūshiya*, or royal saddle-cloth, emblem of sovereignty, covered with gold and precious stones ; and over the sultan's head a prince of the blood or the commander-in-chief bore the state parasol of yellow silk, embroidered with gold and crowned with a golden bird perched upon a golden cupola. The housing of his horse's neck was yellow silk embroidered with gold, and a *zunnārī* or cloth of red atlas satin covered the crupper. The royal standard of silk and gold thread was borne aloft, and the troops had their regimental colours of yellow Cairene silk, embroidered with the escutcheons of their leaders. Just before the sultan rode two pages on white horses with rich trappings ; their robes were of yellow silk with borders of gold brocade, and a *kuffīn* of the same : it was their duty to see that the road was sound. A flute-player went before, and a singer followed after, chanting the heroic deeds of former kings, to the accompaniment of a hand-drum ; poets sang verses antiphonally, accompanying themselves with the *kemenga* and *mōsil*. Tabardārs carried halberds before and behind the sultan, and the state poniards were supported by the polo-master (*G'ūkündār*) in a scabbard on the left, while another dagger with a buckler was carried on the monarch's right. Close behind him rode the *G'amakdār*, or mace-bearer, a tall, handsome man, who carried the gold-headed mace aloft, and never withdrew his eyes from the countenance of his master. The great officers of the court followed, with little less pomp. When a halt was called for the night, on long journeys, torches were borne before the sultan, and as he approached the tent, which had gone on in front and been pitched before his arrival, his servants came to meet him with wax candles in stands inlaid with gold ; pages and halberdiers surrounded him, the soldiers sang a chorus, and all dismounted except the sultan, who rode into the vestibule of the tent, where he left his horse, and then entered the great round pavilion behind it. Out of this opened a little wooden bedroom, warmer than the tent, and a bath with heating materials was at hand. The whole was surrounded by a stockade, and the mamlūks mounted guard

in regular watches, inspected periodically by visiting rounds, with grand rounds twice in the night. The *Emir-Bābdūr*, or Grand Doorkeeper, commanded the grand rounds. Servants and eunuchs slept at the door. Joinville describes the sultan's camp at Damietta. It was entered through a tower of fir-poles covered round with coloured stuff, and inside was the tent where the officers left their weapons when they sought audience of the sultan. "Behind this tent was a doorway similar to the first, by which you enter a large tent, which was the sultan's hall. Behind the hall there was a tower like the one in front, through which you entered the sultan's chamber. Behind the sultan's chamber there was an enclosed space, and in the centre of this enclosure a tower, loftier than all the others, from which the sultan looked out over the whole camp and country. From the enclosure a pathway went down to the river, to the spot where the sultan had spread a tent over the water for the purpose of bathing. The whole of this encampment was enclosed within a trellis of wood work, and on the outer side the trellises were spread with blue calico, and the four towers were also covered with calico."

The historian Maqrīzī is fond of telling how the sultan made his progresses, held reviews of his troops, led a charge in battle, or joined in the games at home. The mamlūks were ardent votaries of sport and athletic exercises. Nāṣir was devoted to the chase, and imported numbers of sunkurs, sakrs, falcons and hawks, and presented valuable fiefs to his falconers, who rode beside him, hawk on wrist. Beybars was a keen archer, and a skilful hand at making arrows. He erected an archery ground outside the Gate of Victory at Cairo, and here he would stay from noon till sunset, encouraging the emirs in their practice. The pursuit of archery became the chief occupation of the lords of his court. But Beybars, like most of the mamlūks, was catholic in his tastes; he was fond of horse-racing; spent two days in the week at polo; was famous for his management of the lance in the tournaments which formed part of the amusements of the day; and was so good a swimmer that he once swam

across the Nile in his cuirass, dragging after him several great nobles seated on inflated carpets.

Such outward details of the life of the mamlüks may be gathered in Maḳrizi : but if we seek to know something of the domestic life of the period, we must go elsewhere. We find indeed occasionally in the historian an account of the revels of the court on great festivals, and how there were concerts in the citadel, where a torch was gently waved to and fro to keep the time. But to understand the home-life of the mamlüks, we must turn to the *Thousand and One Nights*, where, whatever the origin and scene of the stories, the manners and customs are drawn from the society which the narrators saw about them in Cairo in the days of the mamlüks ; and the various articles of luxury that have come down to us, the goblets, incense-burners, bowls, and dishes of fine inlaid silver and gold, confirm the fidelity of the picture. With all their prayers and fasts and tedious ritual, the Muslims of the Middle Ages contrived to amuse themselves. Even in their religion they found opportunities for enjoyment. They made the most of the festivals of the faith, and put on their best clothes ; they made up parties—to visit the tombs, indeed—but to visit them right merrily on the backs of their asses ; and they let their servants go out and amuse themselves too in the gaily illuminated streets, hung with silk and satin, and thronged with dancers, jugglers, and revellers, fantastic figures, Karākūsh (the oriental Punch), and the Chinese Shadows.

The poet Bahā-ed-din Zuheyr, the secretary of Sālih, who survived his master and died in 1258, gives a vivid picture in his verses of the joyous society of early mamlük times, from which it is evident that there was no very strict observance of the Muslim rule of temperance among the gay courtiers. The wine-cup is as prominent in Zuheyr's poems as in 'Omar Khayyām's. Many of the mamlük sultans are described as being addicted to wine, and the great lord Beysari was at one time stated to be incapable of taking part in affairs, because he was entirely given over to drink and hazard. Yet there are

redeeming points in this sottishness. The Muslims of the days of good Hārūn, and not less of the other "golden prime" of Beybars and Barkūk, did not take their wine moodily or in solitude. They loved to have a jovial company round them, and plenty of flowers and sweet scents on the board; they perfumed their beards with civet, and sprinkled their beautiful robes with rose-water, while ambergris and ~~frankincense~~, burned in the censers we still possess, diffused a delicious fragrance through the room. Nor was the feast complete without music and the voices of singing women, and the scene of their revels was often a palace such as Kubla Khan might have pictured in his dreams. We can scarcely realize now the stately pleasure domes which the manlūks once decreed; how they hung them with rich stuffs, and strewed them with costly carpets; what wealth of carving and ivory-work embellished their doors and ceilings; how delicately inlaid were their drinking and washing vessels; how softly rich the colouring of their stained windows. In this flowering time of Saracenic art, a real interest belongs to the life and social condition of the people who made and encouraged the finest productions of the oriental artist. History can show few more startling contrasts than that offered by the spectacle of a band of disorderly soldiers—a standing army of foreigners, rarely intermarrying with the natives, a class absolutely apart—to all appearance barbarians, prone to shed blood, merciless to their enemies, tyrannous to their subjects, yet delighting in the delicate refinements which art could afford them in their home life, lavish in the endowment of pious foundations, magnificent in their mosques and palaces, and fastidious in the smallest details of dress and furniture. Allowing all that must be allowed for the passion of the barbarian for display, we are still far from an explanation how the Turks chanced to be the noblest promoters of art, of literature, and of public works, that Egypt had known since the days of the Ptolemies.

During this brilliant period the population of Egypt was sharply divided into two classes, who had little in

common with each other. One was that of the mamlüks, or military oligarchy, the other the mass of the Egyptians. The latter were useful for cultivating the land, paying the taxes which supported the mamlüks, and manufacturing their robes; but beyond these functions, and that of supplying the judicial and religious posts of the empire, they had small part in the business of the state and appear to have been very seldom incorporated into the ranks of their foreign masters. The names¹ of the mamlüks that have descended to us in the accurate and detailed pages of Maqrizi are generally Turkish, and even when they are ordinary Arabic names, they were borne by Turks who had put on an Arabic name along with the speech, dress, and country of their adoption. In the glories, military and ceremonial, of the mamlüks the people had no part. They were indeed thankful when a mild sovereign, like Lāgīn, ascended the throne, and when taxes were reduced and bakhshish distributed; and they would join, like all mobs, in the decoration of the streets and public rejoicings, when the sultan came back

¹ It will be useful here to explain the system of mamlük names and titles. Every mamlük had (1) a proper name, such as Ketbughā, Lāgīn, Beybars, Kalā'ūn, generally of Turkish derivation; (2) a surname or honourable epithet, as Husām-ed-din, "Sword-blade of the Faith," Nūr-ed-din, "Light of the Faith," Nāṣir-ed-din, "Succourer of the Faith"; (3) generally a pseudo-patronymic, as Abū-l-Feth, "Father of Victory," Abu-n-Naṣr, "Father of Succour"; (4) if a sultan, an epithet affixed to the title of sultan or king, as el-Melik es-Sā'id, "The Fortunate King," el-Melik en-Nāṣir, "The Succouring King," el-Melik el-Mansūr, "The Victorious King"; (5) a title of possession, implying by its relative termination that the subject has been owned as a slave (or has been employed as an officer or retainer) by some sultan or lord, as el-Ashrafī, "The slave or mamlük of the sultan el-Ashrafī," el-Mansūrī, "The mamlük of the sultan el-Mansūr." The order of these titles was as follows: first, the royal title, then the honourable surname, third, the patronymic, fourth, the proper name, and last the possessive: as cs-Sultān el-Melik el-Mansūr Husām-ed-din Abū-l-Feth Lāgīn el-Mansūrī, "The Sultan, Victorious King. Sword-blade of the Faith, Father of Victory, Lāgīn, mamlük of the Sultan El-Mansūr." It is usual, in abbreviating these numerous names, to style a sultan by his title, el-Mansūr, etc., or by his proper name, Lāgīn, etc., omitting the rest, while a noble (emir) is conveniently denoted by his proper name alone.

men a crew is chosen, or recovered from an illness; but they had no voice in the government of the country, and must take the best they might of the uncertain characters of their ever-changing rulers.

The following list shows the names and order of succession of the twenty-five sultans of the Bahri dynasty, few of whom call for detailed biography.—

	A.D.
es-Salih Ayyub	1290
-Tariq Suri-ed-din Ayues	1291
el-Mansur Nizir-ed-din Ali b. Ayues	1293
el-Mansur Tariq-ed-din Kâfir	1293
el-Qâsim Shâfi-ed-din Beybars	1295
es-Sâlih Nasir-ed-din Farhad Khan b. Beybars	1297
el-Sâlih Beybars-ed-din Nasir b. Beybars	1298
el-Mansur Tariq-ed-din Kâfir	1299
es-Sâlih Shâfi-ed-din Ali b. Kâfir ¹	1299
el-Nâsir Nasir-ed-din Muhammad b. Shâfi ²	1303
el-Sâlih Farhad-ed-din Shâfi ²	1304
el-Mansur Nasir-ed-din Laylî	1306
es-Nâsir second reign	1308
el-Muqtadir Shâfi-ed-din Laylî ²	1308
es-Nâsir third reign	1309
el-Mansur Sufi-ed-din Ali b. Shâfi b. Nâsir	1311
el-Ashraf 'Alâ-ed-din Shâfi b. Nâsir	1311
en-Nâsir Shâfi-ed-din Ahmad b. Nâsir	1312
es-Sâlih Imad-ed-din Isma'il b. Nâsir	1312
el-Kâsim Sufi-ed-din Shâfi b. Nâsir	1315
el-Muqtadir Sufi-ed-din Hâggi b. Nâsir	1316
en-Nâsir Nasir-ed-din Hassan b. Nâsir	1317
es-Sâlih Salâh-ed-din Shâfi b. Nâsir	1318
en-Nâsir Hasan, second reign	1318
el-Mansur Salâh-ed-din Muhammad b. Hâggi	1319
el-Ashraf Nasir-ed-din Shâfi b. Hoseyn b. Nâsir	1323
el-Mansur 'Alâ-ed-din 'Ali b. Shâfi ²	1376
es-Sâlih Salâh-ed-din Hâggi b. Shâfi ²	1381
[Barhuk, Burji mamlûk]	1382
Hâggi, second reign, with title el-Mansur	1389
	—1390

¹²⁹⁰ After the murder of Tûrânshâh it was inevitable that ^{May} the mamlûks should seize the throne of Egypt, yet

¹ Original Bahri mamlûks of Shâlih Ayyûb.

² Mamlûks of Kalâ'ün. It will be observed that from 1290 all the sultans were descendants of Kalâ'ün, except those who were his mamlûks.

they showed their respect for the late dynasty as well as ¹²⁵⁰ gratitude for her former statesmanship by electing Sālih's widow, Sheger-ed-durr, as their queen—almost the only queen who has ruled a Mohammanadan country before the present Empress of India.

^{May}



Fig. 56.—Dinār of queen Sheger-ed-durr,
Cairo, 1250.

Sheger-ed-durr combined the qualification of a mamlūka and comrade of the Bahris with that of marriage with the Ayyūbid sultan, to whom she had born a son. The son, Khalil, died in infancy, but how insistently she based her right to sovereignty upon her motherhood of a prince of the royal line is proved by her official signature on all state documents: she styled herself merely Umm-Khalil (or Wālidat-Khalil), "the mother of Khalil." The prayers were recited in her name, and coins were struck with the feminine titles "el-Musta'simiyā, eş-Sālihiya, Melikat-el-Muslimin, Wālidat el-Melik el-Mansūr Khalil-Amir-el-Murminin," which signify "the [former] slave of [the caliph] Musta'sim [and afterwards] of Sālih; queen of the Muslims, mother of el-Melik el-Mansūr Khalil [friend] of the Commander of the Faithful."¹ The first act of the new sultan was to

¹ The only coin known of Sheger-ed-durr is in the British Museum (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue*, iv. p. 136), and bears these titles, together with those of the contemporary 'Abbasid caliph Musta'sim, and the date, Cairo, A.H. 648 (which began 5 April, 1250). The titles are the same as those given in Maqrīzī. The coin is the sole numismatic record of her reign, which lasted less than three months, and is the only known coin of a Muslim queen, except Rizīya of Dehli, Abish of Fārs, and Nūr-Jahān on the Mogul emperor Jahāngīr's coinage. The queen's surname or *lakab* was 'Asmat-ed-din, "Defender of the Faith," and her royal style was *sultān*: there is no such feminine form as "sultana" in Arabic. The generic name Sheger-ed-durr, so written by Abū-l-Fidā and other historians, is often altered to the noun of unity Shegeret-ed-durr by Maqrīzī and later writers.

confirm the previous treaty with king Louis, and despatch him and his army safely out of the country. It is at least highly probable that partly to her the Crusaders owed their lives ; since in the excitement after the murder of Tûrânhâh, and again when they were drunk with the re-occupation of Damietta, the mamlûks were in two minds whether to massacre the Christians or not. The ransom probably turned the scale. Louis's queen, who had been at Damietta, paid the first half of the 800,000 besants, and the king lost no time in leaving the coast.

The anomaly of a Muslim queen was too repugnant to Mohammadan ideas to last. The blessed Prophet had said, "the people that make a woman their ruler are past saving," and the caliph of Baghdâd, far from being conciliated by the apparent fact that the new sultan of Egypt had once been in his harem, wrote to the Egyptian leaders that "if they had no *man* among them, he would send them one." The hint was taken, and 'Izz-ed-din Aybek, one of the leading Bahris and then *atâbeg-el-'asâkir*, or commander-in-chief, was chosen by the emirs to be the husband of Sheger-ed-durr and ¹²⁵⁰₃₁ July sultan of Egypt, with the title of el-Melik el-Mo'izz.¹



Fig. 57.—Dinâr of Aybek, Alexandria,
1256.

Saladin's great-grandson, had already seized Damascus (which then belonged to Egypt) as a step towards a march

A further precaution was observed in view of the hostility of the Ayyûbids in Syria. The descendants of Saladin were not disposed to let Egypt pass from their possession without an effort to preserve it to the family, and en-Nâsir of Aleppo,

¹ Aybek's rare coins are from old dies of es-Şâlih Ayyûb, with the addition of the name Aybek (no title), and with the dates Cairo, 651 and 652 (1253, 1254). No coins bear the joint names of Aybek and el-Ashraf Müsâ.

upon the Nile. In order to deprive him of a pretext, the Aug. 5
 mamlūks set up a joint-king, to reign with Aybek, in the person of el-Ashraf Mūsā, a child of six, great-grandson of el-Kāmil.¹ But the real power still rested in the queen's hands ; she controlled the finances, refused to inform Aybek where the treasure of the late sultan Şalih was deposited, and kept her husband in strict subordination. His real function was to fight the queen's enemies; whilst she managed the internal affairs of state, always, however, in the names of the joint kings, and with the assistance of a military oligarchy composed of the leading mamlūks, of whom Ākṭāi, Beybars, and Balban were the most prominent and held the chief official posts.

Aybek had two dangers to guard against ; one was invasion by the legitimist Ayyūbids of Syria, the other, conspiracy among his brother mamlūks and Arab subjects —the risk of trouble from the native Egyptians might be neglected. The most pressing peril was from the legitimists. Already a portion of the mamlūk army at Aug. 5
 Şalihîya near the Syrian frontier had proclaimed a rival king in el-Mughîth 'Omar, a son of 'Adil II and grandson of Kāmil, a candidate with a good title to the throne,—so good, indeed, that his uncle Şalih had kept him a close prisoner at Shawbek (Montreal). Thence he had only just been released by his opportunist gaoler, and had immediately occupied the strong fortress of Karak. Aybek's reply to this competition was to throw Egypt under the protection of the caliph of Baghdād, by proclaiming it a province of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and himself as the caliph's viceroy. Having thus set up another legitimist title, far older than that of the Ayyūbids, Aybek turned to measures of war. He first sent Ākṭāi, the commander of the Bahri mamlūks, to relieve Gaza, which the Syrians were besieging, and meanwhile he exerted himself to convince the people of Egypt of his respect for the late dynasty. The body of

¹ Mūsā was the son of en-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the son of el-Mes'ūd Yūsuf (Kāmil's son) who ruled the Yemen from 1215 to 1228.

Sāliḥ Ayyūb was removed from the castle of Rōda, where it had been hurriedly concealed by Sheger-ed-durr, and ¹²⁵⁰ Oct. was accorded a magnificent funeral in the tomb-mosque (still existing) which she had built for it in the Beyn-el-Kasreyn : Aybek and Ashraf, the joint-kings, and the officers of state attended in great pomp ; all the mamlūks were dressed as mourners in white and cut off their hair ; the tomb was reverently covered with banners, and the bow and quiver of the late sultan were laid upon it. The people were also encouraged to believe that the Ayyūbid opposition was divided, that Mughīth of Karak had become the ally of Aybek, and all sorts of false rumours were put about.

¹²⁵¹ Nevertheless everybody predicted the triumph of the old dynasty, and when Nāṣir of Damascus arrived on the frontier, the people of Cairo were confident in his success and prepared a welcome. Aybek and Ākṭāi, with a large army of mamlūks and Arabs of Upper Egypt, met the legitimist claimant near 'Abbāsa, and an obstinate Feb. 3 battle ensued. The Egyptian Arabs, routed at the first onslaught, fled to their homes, announcing on their way the defeat of Aybek. Cairo at once ranged itself on the side of the supposed victor ; Nāṣir's name was honoured next day in the Friday prayers, and preparations were made for his entertainment. The battle, however, was not over when the Arabs fled ; the Egyptian right drove in the Syrian left ; the centres were evenly balanced, and the issue wavered. At last, the desertion of Nāṣir's mamlūks to their comrades of the other side turned the scales, and the remnant of the Syrian army fled to Damascus, abandoning camp and baggage, and losing many killed and prisoners. Among the latter, who graced Aybek's triumphant entry into Cairo, was es-Sāliḥ Ismā'il, the former lord of Damascus (see p. 229), and several other princes of Saladin's blood. Ismā'il was paraded before the tomb of his old rival, Sāliḥ Ayyūb, and strangled in the Citadel as an inveterate enemy of Egypt.

Encouraged by this victory, Aybek sent Ākṭāi to recover Gaza and Palestine, and took the opportunity of

increased prestige to depose his nominal partner, the ¹²⁵³ child Ashraf, and send him away to Constantinople (1254). Meanwhile the caliph intervened to promote a peaceful understanding between his contending subjects of Syria and Egypt. His motive was evident: the Mongol invasion was already touching his frontiers, the barbarians were in Diyar-Bekr, and it was imperative to sink all minor differences and present a united front to the enemies of Islām. Peace was arranged by ambassadors ¹²⁵³, from Baghdađ on the basis that Egypt should hold Palestine west of the Jordan, including Jerusalem and the Muslim part of the coast. The treaty was renewed in 1256, when Nāṣir abandoned his protection of Egyptian malcontents, and Aybek had no further trouble from the legitimists.¹

The danger from the intrigues of his own household was more difficult to guard against than the open attacks of the enemy. Ākṭāi, who was the most distinguished of the mamlūk generals and had not only completed the discomfiture of Louis IX but repeatedly beaten the Syrians, was a serious rival to Aybek. The Bahri mamlūks would obey no other leader, and with Ākṭāi's connivance this truculent soldiery became a terror to the inhabitants; they indulged their licence in atrocious acts of violence, pillaged innocent houses, and raided the public baths for women. The very Franks, says Maḳrizī, could not have done worse. To add to the general anarchy, the Arabs of the Ṣa'īd broke into revolt with the cry of "Egypt for the Arabs," not the Turks, and this race movement became so popular that the Arabs were able to muster some 12,000 horse and a multitude of foot soldiers. They were met near the apex of the delta by Ākṭāi with only 5000 of his trusty mamlūks, but his usual skill and their courage once more brought victory. A campaign in the north quickly reduced the Arabs of the delta who had caught the spirit of revolt, and Aybek treacherously entrapped their leader

¹ The Egyptian frontier, according to Abū-l-Fidā, was then fixed near el-'Arish, as it is to-day.

and many of his followers, and punished the tribes by increased taxation. The result was their ruin. The Arabs of Egypt had been rich and owned many horses and large herds : henceforward, says the historian in the fifteenth century, they were reduced to the state in which they now decline.

This latest triumph made Aktaï more insupportable than ever, and Aybek resolved to get rid of him. The general was trapped in the citadel of Cairo, and his head was thrown to his escort standing below the walls. Many Bahri mamlüks, appalled at this sudden blow, fled the country, and some who stayed behind were arrested. For the moment Aybek had saved his throne. The exiled mamlüks, however, remained a perpetual menace : they raided Palestine, sought to stir up Nāṣir at Damascus, and when he was induced by the caliph to dismiss them, they joined Mughith at Karak and hovered on the borders of Egypt. Aybek spent the best part of three years in camp on the frontier, guarding against their attack. He was now bent on legitimizing his title, and sent an embassy to the caliph at Baghdaïd to request the robes of honour and usual insignia of investiture. At the same time he proposed to marry a daughter of Lu'lu, the prince of Mōṣil. This produced a final rupture with his wife, Sheger-ed-durr, who, although she lived on the worst terms with her husband, was intensely jealous of sharing him with other women. She had already made him divorce a former wife, and she would not tolerate a fresh marriage, especially to a princess of rank. Aybek had been told by the court astrologer that he would die of a woman's plot, and he was privately warned that the queen was meditating his removal. He seems to have entertained corresponding designs on his own part, but ¹²⁵⁷ she anticipated them. Inviting him to the Citadel with ¹⁰ every assurance of sincerity, she had him murdered in his bath. When it was done, she tried to pass it off as a natural death, but the mamlüks soon extracted the truth from tortured slaves. In vain the queen offered the throne to several nobles ; none dare to accept so perilous a gift. The mamlüks would have killed her in their

ury, but the old ties of comradeship secured her the protection of the Bahris, who had moreover no cause to love Aybek. She was shut up in the Red Tower, and foreseeing her doom the heroic lady devoted her last hours to pounding her jewels in a mortar, that no other woman should wear them. Three days later she was dragged before the wife whom she had compelled Aybek to divorce, and in her rival's presence queen Sheger-ed-durr was battered to death by the wooden clogs of the women slaves. They threw her half-naked body into the citadel ditch, where it lay several days to be devoured by dogs, until at last some one buried it. Her tomb still stands near the chapel of Sitta Nefisa, and some pious modern hand has covered it with a cloth embroidered with her name. Her end was like Jezebel's: yet she had saved Egypt.

Aybek's son (by the divorced wife) was set upon the vacant throne by the choice of the manlûks, but the lad of fifteen, who spent his time in the frivolous amusements of cock-fighting and donkey-rides, was only a make-shift to avoid a struggle between the jealous emirs. El-Melik el-Mansûr 'Ali,¹ as he was styled, was no sovereign for the crisis at hand, and in Nov., 1259, he was deposed by the regent, Kuṭuz (formerly Aybek's deputy or *nâib-es-saltâna*) who ascended the throne with the title of el-Melik el-Muzaffar.² As he observed to his followers, this was no time for boy puppets, "we want a fighting king." The danger now was not from the legitimists, for Kuṭuz had completely routed the Ayyûbid el-Mughith of Karak when he attempted with the support of the exiled Bahris to conquer Egypt. A far greater peril threatened the whole Mohhammadan east in the advance of the Mongols under Hûlâgû, who took Baghdâd and murdered the caliph in Feb., 1258, conquered all Syria in 1260, and pushed on to Gaza,

¹ A gold coin of el-Manṣûr Nûr-ed-dîn 'Ali bears the date Cairo, 656 (1258).

² A gold coin of el-Muẓaffar Seys-ed-dîn Kuṭuz has the date 658 (1259-60), but the mint is effaced, and a silver coin has the mint Damascus, but the year effaced.

¹²⁵⁷
Apr.
¹³

harrying and destroying everything in their way. Hülägū sent an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, bearing a letter full of menace and requiring his abject submission. Kuṭuz replied by executing the ambassadors and hanging up their heads at the gate Zawila. He would have no parleying with the enemy, lest some of the fainter-

¹²⁶⁰ July harried emirs should be won over. As it was, he had to administer a stern reproof to them before he could lead a united and determined army to the frontier. Murmurs were stifled, and courage raised, when Beybars with the vanguard drove the Mongol garrison out of Gaza ; and the whole army of Egypt marched north along the coast, secured the neutrality of the Franks of 'Akka, and then went to encounter the barbarians. They found them near

Sept. 3 Beysān at Goliath's Spring ('Ayn Gālūd—a famous site in Crusading warfare), and the tremendous shock of the Mongol charge shattered the Egyptian militia. But the headlong flight led to victory ; for the Mongols, dispersed in pursuit, lost formation, and were easily cut off by the steady attack of the unshaken mamlūks. The Mongol general, Ketbughā, fell, and his army was soon

Sept. 6 in full retreat, joined by the garrison of Damascus, where the Muslims immediately rose and slew its Christian population, who had triumphed prematurely over the downfall of Islām. Kuṭuz restored order throughout the devastated cities, replaced the Ayyūbid princes as tributaries in their old seats at Hims and Hamāh, and the public prayers were recited in his name as far as Aleppo and the Euphrates. As he was returning in triumph from the brilliant campaign which had rescued Egypt and recovered Syria, he fell a victim to the jealousies which are the inevitable bane of a military dictatorship. Beybars, the ablest of his generals,

Oct. 24 baulked of his desire for the government of Aleppo, conspired with other nobles, and Kuṭuz was assassinated whilst returning from the chase within the Egyptian frontier. The chief regicide was elected sultan on the spot.

Beybars—or *es Sultān el-Melik ez-Zāhir*¹ Rukn-ed-

¹ "The Ascendant King, prop of church and state, Beybars [mamlūk] of the Arbailester [and] of *es-Sūlih*." He first chose the title el-

dunyā-wa-din Beybars el-Bundukdārī es-Sālihi—was the real founder of the mamlük empire. His predecessors had barely and briefly held their power against rivals, revolts, and foreign foes: Beybars made himself supreme over all. He was a native of Kipchak, between the Caspian and the Ural Mountains,—a tall ruddy



Fig. 58.—Dinār of Beybars, Alexandria, 1261.

fellow, with blue eyes, one of which was disfigured by a cataract: hence he only fetched about £20 in the slave market. He had belonged to the emir Aydekin el-Bundukdār, "the arbalesteer," whence his epithet el-Bundukdārī, which Marco Polo wrote "Bendocquedar." Afterwards he passed into the service of Sūlīh Ayyūb, and became one of the most conspicuous of the Sālihi or Bahri mamlüks, especially distinguishing himself at the battle of Manṣūra. He was the first great mamlük sultan, and the right man to lay the foundations of the empire. "Bondogar," says William of Tripolis, "as a soldier was not inferior to Julius Caesar, nor in malignity to Nero"; but he allows that the sultan was "sober, chaste, just to his own people, and even kind to his Christian subjects." So well did he organize his wide-stretching provinces that no incapacity or disunion among his successors could pull down the fabric he had

Kāhir, but this was found to possess unlucky precedents, and was changed for ez-Zāhir, "the Ascendant." After re-establishing the 'Abbāsid caliphate at Cairo he added the title Kasim-Amir-el-mu'minīn, "partner of the Commander of the Faithful." His coinage (like most of the mamlük currency) is frequently so rubbed as to be illegible, but there are dated coins of Cairo, 664, 665, 666, and 667 (1265-9); Alexandria, 659, 661, 664, 667 (1260-9); and Damascus and Hamāh, with uncertain dates. His coins bear his badge, a lion passant—a notable innovation in the Egyptian type of currency. The name is usually written Beybars, but on the coins the *y* is not inserted, and the name would appear to be Bibars, as Quatremère spells it.

raised, until the wave of Ottoman conquest swept at last upon Egypt and Syria. To him is due the organization of the mamlük army, the rebuilding of a navy, the allotment of fiefs to the lords and soldiers, the building of causeways and bridges, and digging of canals in various parts of Egypt. He strengthened the fortresses of Syria and garrisoned them with mamlüks; he connected Damascus and Cairo by a postal service of four days, and used to play polo in both cities within the same week. His mosque still stands without the north gates, and his college once stood—only an angle remains—in the Beyn-el-Kasreyn. He founded an endowment for the burial of poor Muslims. In many respects he was a great ruler, and his qualities must have been remarkable to have raised him from the level of a one-eyed slave to be the consolidator of an empire that lasted for 250 years.

¹²⁶⁰ Oct. Beybars was determined to be a second Saladin, to revive the power and prestige of the Egyptian empire,

and to wage war against the "infidels" who still lingered on the Mediterranean coast. Syria had indeed been recovered by his predecessor,—and Beybars was careful to confirm his local appointments and conciliate the governors,—but it was held on a precarious tenure. A rival proclaimed himself king at Damascus, and though suppressed (Jan. 1261) his ambition was significant. The first object of the new sultan was to keep

Fig. 59.—Lion of Beybars on boss of mosque-door, 1268.

(1) the Mongols—who now formed an established dynasty known as the Ilkhāns of Persia or Hulaguids—on the further side of the Euphrates; the second object was to punish the Crusader states which had made common cause with the barbarians against the remnant of the once extensive caliphate. In order to emphasize his position as the pre-eminent sultan of Islām, he not only spent largely upon mosques and pious endowments, but invited an exiled representative of the extinguished 'Abbāsid caliphate to come to Cairo, where he enthroned



him with splendid pomp as the rightful pontiff of Islâm,¹²⁶¹ with the title el-Mustansîr, and received from him the June gold-embroidered black turban, the purple robe, and the gold chain and anklets, which denoted the duly appointed and spiritually recognized sovereign of the caliph's realm.

Having thus acquired the title to act as the head of the Muâlimîs, Beybars set about consolidating his power by alliances with foreign princes. By a fortunate coincidence Baraka, the khân of the Golden Horde, or Mongols of Kipchak, who pastured in the valley of the Volga, had embraced Islâm, and was in deadly rivalry with his kinsmen the Ilkhâns of Persia. Embassies were exchanged (1261-3) between Baraka and Beybars, accompanied by valuable presents, and the two became allies against Persia.² Baraka's name was even prayed for

¹ At first Beybars seems to have contemplated the restoration of the caliphate at Baghðûd, and furnished the caliph with an army and a splendid retinue for the purpose; but when the actual advance upon Mesopotamia began, his fears were excited lest a restored caliphate might prove hostile to himself, and he left the unlucky Mustansîr almost unsupported to make the attempt, in which he apparently lost his life. Another 'Abbâsid caliph was then set up at Cairo (1262) with the title of el-Hâkim; but there was no more talk of reconquering Baghðûd, and thenceforward the second or Egyptian dynasty of 'Abbâsid caliphs were restricted to such spiritual functions as the ritual of the mosque afforded. They formed, however, the technical centre of Islâm, and served to connect the old caliphate of Baghðûd with the modern sultans of Turkey, to whom they bequeathed such rights as they were able to bestow. The succession of the 'Abbâsid caliphs of Egypt may here be noted:—el-Mustansîr 1261, el-Hâkim I 1262, el-Mustekfî I 1302, el-Wâthîk I 1339, el-Hâkim II 1340, el-Mo'tâqid I 1352, el-Mutawekkil I 1362, el-Mo'tâsim 1377, el-Mutawekkil restored 1377, el-Wâthîk II 1383, el-Mo'tâsim restored 1386, el-Mutawekkil, third time, 1389; el-Musta'in 1405 (sultan 1412), el-Mo'tâqid II 1413, el-Mustekfî II 1440, el-Kâim 1451, el-Mustengîd 1454, el-Mutawekkil II 1479, el-Mustemsik 1497, el-Mutawekkil III 1498, el-Mustemsik restored 1516, el-Mutawekkil III restored 1521, to assumption of caliphate by 'Othmânî sultan, 1538.

² Detailed accounts of the Egyptian embassy in 1263 to the khân of the Golden Horde are given by Ibn-el-Furît and en-Nuweyri, translated in Quatremère's Maâkrîzî, i. 213, note. The envoys went to Constantinople, crossed to the Crimea, and thence to the Ítil (Volga) where they found the camp of Baraka. Ambassadors from Baraka reached Cairo in 1263.

ENEMIES AND ALLIANCES

and to the walls of Friday in the mosques of Cairo, Jerusalem, Jordan and Medina, and his daughter became the wife of Berrouq. The sultan's envoys went to the court of Louis IX. of France, where a friendly understanding had already been established with the emperor Frederick II., who was evidently disposed to side with the Saracens against the Christians. Christianity, represented by the Crusaders from whose violence and rapacity the East European empire had suffered for half a century, was to be abominated. Berrouq, at the emperor's request, had supplied the crusading party with an insatiable, now at last willing, army for the Holy Church; and in return he had demanded the restoration of the old mosque of the Patriarch, which had remained uncared for centuries until the arrival of the Saracens. Another embassy from Cairo reached the court of Sicily and Tuscany, who, like the French and the enemy of the papacy, were desirous of the victory he had no assistance to give. Treaties, however, were signed between the sultan and James of Aragon, and afterwards between the sultan and Bertrand of Beaucaire. Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., sent a mission to Cairo in 1264, and was received at Kair-Khusru, one of the remaining Seljuk principalities of Asia Minor, then falling into Mongol power. All these engagements display the policy of the sultan of a prudent and far-sighted statesman. It was the alliance with the powerful sultan of Egypt which preserved the Muslim empire from serious invasion by the Mongols of Persia. The sultan speedily attacked Bira, at the passage of the Euphrates, and pushed a raid into Syria as far as Hama. But Berrouq wisely laid the northern districts under the eye so that his enemies should find no food or fodder, and notwithstanding a perpetual menace, the Saracen armies effected no important successes during the next four years.

There were, however, sympathizers with the Mongols among the Saracens who had to be dealt with. The sultan's general Frederick VI., prince of Antioch and Tripoli, was disposed to favour Christianity at

the expense of Islām, were supporters of the Ilkhāns. Consequently they were special objects of Beybars's attack. For ten years—1261 to 1271—he waged almost annual campaigns against the Crusader states. At first these were merely raids into the territory of Antioch, Cilicia, and the district of 'Akka, accompanied by much cruelty and devastation, or enlivened by great battues of game. Amongst others, the church of Nazareth was destroyed. In 1265, however, he began a series of conquests. In that year Caesarea and Arsūf were taken and razed to the ground, lest they should again become strongholds of the "infidels." By a refinement of insult the Christian defenders of the conquered fortresses were compelled to help in their dismantling, and then led with broken crosses round their necks, and banners reversed, to grace the victor's triumphal entry into Cairo. Dervishes and fakirs, seconded by religious women, had encouraged and inflamed the zeal of the Muslim troops and worked at the trenches; and Beybars himself toiled like a navvy at the demolition of the fortifications. In 1266 the troops were again called out from their homes ; and after piously visiting Jerusalem and Hebron and distributing alms, the Sultan seized 'Arka, raided the Christian lands about 'Akka, Tyre, and Sidon, and won Safed, after three attempts to storm it, from the Templars, who were nearly all slain. Unlike the coast towns, Safed was now garrisoned and its fortifications strengthened. In all this Beybars took a personal share, encouraging the men by taking the post of danger, helping in the labour of bringing up the siege train, and displaying unwonted solicitude for the sick and wounded, providing hospital tents, physicians and surgeons. At the same time he severely repressed disorder and pillage in Muslim territory, forbade wine to be used in camp, and slit the noses of officers who indulged in private looting or damage to the crops. In the autumn he again overran the dominions of the king of Little Armenia (Cilicia) as far as Tarsus, and Haithon purchased peace by the surrender of Derbesāk and the country east of the G'eyhūn river. Jaffa was captured in 1268, and

Mar.-
Apr.
1266
May
July
1267
1268
Mar.

razed to the foundations :¹ its fine marbles were used to decorate the mosques of Cairo. Shekif Arnūn (Belfort) surrendered in April, and the crowning triumph of the campaign was the storming of Antioch, the head-quarters of Christianity in northern Syria. The noble city was burnt to the ground.

Beybars took the occasion of the conquest of Antioch to write to its prince, Boemond VI, one of those boastful and sarcastic letters for which he was famous. Addressing him as "count," since he had now lost his princedom, he reminds him that he has been "looking on like a man in a mortal swoon" whilst piece after piece of his dominions has been taken from him. Then the conqueror describes the campaign which ended in the storming of Boemond's capital, sparing him no details : "Hadst thou but seen," he wrote, "thy knights trodden under the hoofs of the horses ! thy palaces invaded by plunderers and ransacked for booty ! thy treasures weighed out by the hundredweight ! thy ladies bought and sold with thine own gear, at four for a dinār ! hadst thou but seen thy churches demolished, thy crosses sawn in sunder, thy garbled gospels hawked about before the sun ; the tombs of thy nobles cast to the ground ; the monk, the priest, the deacon slaughtered on the altar ; the rich abased to misery, princes of royal blood reduced to slavery ! could'st thou but have seen the flames devouring thy halls ; thy dead cast into the fires temporal, with the fires eternal hard at hand ; the churches of Paul and of Cosmas rocking and going down ! —then would'st thou have said, 'Would God that I were dust ! ' This letter holds happy tidings for thee : it tells thee that God watches over thee to prolong thy days, inasmuch as in these latter days thou wert not in Antioch ! Hadst thou been there, now wouldst thou be slain or a prisoner, wounded or disabled. A live man rejoiceth in his safety when he looketh on a field of

¹ There had been a treaty between John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, and the Ayyūbid sultan, en-Nāṣir, of Damascus, which Beybars confirmed in a personal interview with John in 1261. The death of John of Ibelin, however, terminated the agreement.

slain . . . As not a man hath escaped to tell thee the tale, we tell it thee ; as no soul could apprise thee that thou art safe, while all the rest have perished, we apprise thee.”¹

This loss so dispirited the Franks that they asked for peace, and Beybars himself accompanied his own ambassadors into Tripolis, disguised as a groom, in order to spy out the place with a view to a future siege. The Franks of ‘Akka also opened peace negotiations, which fell through. A raid upon the country near Tyre and ‘Akka in 1269 was followed by a more vigorous campaign in 1271, when the great castle of Crac des Chevaliers (Hīsn-el-Akrād) was surrendered by the Hospitallers ;¹²⁷¹ Tortosa and Markab won a truce by a sacrifice of territory ;¹²⁷¹ Akkār capitulated, and the Teutonic knights were unable to defend the fortress of Montfort (el-Kureyn). “Our yellow flag hath overcome thy red,”¹² wrote Beybars again to Boemond, “and thy bells are silenced by Allāhu Akbar,” the call to prayer. After further hostilities Tyre made terms by dividing its territory with Egypt ; and Hugh III of Cyprus, styling himself king of Jerusalem, succeeded in obtaining a treaty of peace for ‘Akka and Cyprus for ten years,¹²⁷² ten months, and ten days. This arrangement was partly due to the arrival of reinforcements from England, under prince Edward Plantagenet, in May 1271, who inspired the ‘Akkans to renewed courage and even secured a couple of small successes; and partly to the threatening movements of the Mongols, who made incursions into northern Syria in 1271 and 1272. The Egyptian fleet, moreover, had been disastrously wrecked at Limasol in an attempt to conquer Cyprus—the main support of Boemond—and Beybars was busy repairing the injury by the rapid construction of fresh vessels. On the death of Boemond in 1275, peace was renewed with his successor, who agreed to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *D.*

The Franks were now harmless, and before this another

¹ The letter is printed in Arabic (from Nuweyri) and French in Quatremère, *Mamlouks*, I., ii. 190-4 ; in German in Weil, iv. 63-7, and the spirited English version is by Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 25.

danger had been removed by the submission of the 'Assassins.' These fanatics of the Ismā'ilian sect, secure in their nine rocky fortresses among the Ansāriya mountains between Markab and Ḥimāh, had been the terror of Syria since the beginning of the twelfth century, and their *fidāis* or emissaries had carried out the lethal edicts of their sheykh in many a secret muring. Saladin had vainly attempted to suppress them, and since his failure they had been courted by many Christian powers, and were under the special protection of the Knights Hospitallers. In 1267, however, by a treaty with the knights, Beybars took over the tribute of the Assassins, and having acquired an influence over them, he set about disarming their power. Between 1270 and 1273 he took their fortresses one by one, by force or by capitulation, and induced the most dreaded of all secret societies to take up its abode in Egypt, where it gradually lost its fanatical character and became merged in the peaceful population.

Meanwhile, relieved from hostilities on the Syrian coast, Beybars turned his arms northwards; once more he overtan Cilicia, surprised and burnt el-Maṣṣīsa and Sos, and raided up to Tarsus, where the prayers of Islām were recited in triumph. He had defeated the Mongols near Rīra early in 1273, after swimming the Euphrates at the head of his troops; and in 1277 he waged his last campaign against the most powerful of his foes. They now ruled Asia Minor and the young Selḡūk princes by means of a governor, or Perwāna, Mu'in-ed-din, and against him Beybars led the yellow standards of his ever-victorious army. Near Abulusteyn he fell upon the enemy, with his 11,000 mamlūks, and inflicted so terrible a defeat that the Mongols left nearly 7000 dead upon the field. Their camp was taken and the prisoners put to death. The sultan seated himself upon the throne at Kaysarīya (Caesarea) where the Selḡūk sultans of Rūm had reigned for two centuries, and here he received the

¹ Beybars was reported to have urged the Assassins to the murderous assault upon Edward Plantagenet, but he strenuously denied the charge.

homage of the people, was prayed for in the mosque, belauded by the poets, hymned by the royal Selgük band ; and here he caused coins to be struck in his name, and divided the Perwāna's treasure among the troops. Here too he received the allegiance of the Turkman ruler of Karamān, whose tribesmen proved a useful buffer on the northern frontier. It was but a temporary occupation, for the Persian Ilkhān was already mustering a vast army to recover his losses, and Beybars prudently returned to Syria, leaving Caesarea to the pitiless butchery of the enraged Mongols : but the glory of having sat on the Selgük throne was not the least among his triumphs.

Nor was this northern expansion the only side on which the empire of Egypt was enlarged. Slightly more permanent was the annexation of the Sūdān. Dāwūd, the Christian king of Nubia, who should by ancient custom have paid an annual tribute or *bākt* of slaves to the sultan (see above, p. 23), had sent various expeditions into the Egyptian territory, and taken Muslims captive at Aswān on the Nile and at Aydhāb on the Red Sea coast. In return the Egyptian governor of Kūṣ had raided Nubia as far as Dongola in 1272-3; and in 1275 Beybars seized the opportunity of the arrival of Dāwūd's nephew Shekenda in Egypt to espouse his cause and set him up in opposition to his uncle. A fresh army was sent into the Sūdān, the forts of Daw, Sūs and Dongola were taken, Dāwūd defeated, and Shekenda set upon the throne, after taking the most solemn and tremendous oath by all he held sacred to be a true and loyal vassal to the sultan of Egypt, to render the customary *bākt* of slaves, and to pay half the revenue of the kingdom, together with various elephants, giraffes, panthers, dromedaries, and oxen, as tribute, as well as a gold dinār for each adult male of the population, who were also compelled to take an oath of allegiance. The conquest of the Sūdān had been attempted before in 652, and again by Saladin's brother in 1173, but its dependence had been merely nominal, and such it soon became again.¹²⁷⁵

Beybars had now reached the goal of his aspirations.

The slave had risen (by a twofold murder of his leaders, it is true) to become the greatest sultan of his century. His orders were obeyed from the fourth cataract of the Nile to the river Pyramus, and on the east from Bira along the Euphrates to Karkisiyā on the Khābūr. The Bedawis of the deserts were his auxiliaries, the sheriffs of the holy cities of Arabia were under his control; all Syria was subject to him, save the few cities on the coast which the Christians still held, and the principality of Hamāh. The king of the Yemen courted his friendship, and sent him costly gifts; the ruler of Abyssinia sought a patriarch at his hands. Sawākin on the Red Sea was his, and the chiefs of north Africa from Barkā westwards paid him tribute.¹ At the height of his ^{July 1} renown he died, probably from a poisoned cup which he had prepared for another.

The greater part of his reign was spent in campaigns outside Egypt, but he generally passed the winter months at Cairo, whilst his troops rested and rains or snow hindered marching, and he devoted these intervals to improving the country and the capital. It was not only in founding and restoring mosques and colleges, or rebuilding the Hall of Justice at the foot of the citadel, that he showed his public interest. He enlarged the irrigation canals and dug new ones, made roads and bridges, fortified Alexandria and repaired the pharos,

¹ Weil, iv. 96-97. Karkisiyā was taken from the Mongols in 1265; a year later the sheriff of Medina received his appointment from Beybars, who also nominated the sheriff of Mekka. Hamāh was the last vestige of the Ayyūbid power, and its princes retained their title of king, though really subordinate to the mamlūk sultans, until their extinction in 1341; the last king but one, Abū-l-Fidā, more famous as an historian and geographer, was born in 1273 at Damascus, whither his parents had fled in dread of a Mongol invasion. Hims (Emesa), the penultimate possession of the Ayyūbids, fell into Beybars's hands on the death of its last king in 1263. The rest of their dominions was taken by the Mongols about 1260, and the Syrian part was recovered by Kütuz. In 1263, Beybars had treacherously entrapped Mughith, the Ayyūbid prince of Karak, and probable claimant for the throne of his father 'Adil II of Egypt, and shut him up in the citadel of Cairo. Karak then became a fortress of Egypt, as Shawbek had been since 1261. Sawākin was taken in 1266.

and protected the mouths of the Nile from the risk of foreign invasion. He revived the Egyptian fleet, built forty war galleys, and maintained 12,000 regular troops—not reckoning, one must assume, the Arab and Egyptian militia or occasional levies. His heavy war expenses entailed heavy taxation; and though with a view to popularity he began his reign by remitting the oppressive taxes imposed by Kütz to the amount of 600,000 *D.* a year, he found himself compelled to increase the fiscal burdens as his campaigns developed. Yet we read more often of old taxes repealed than of fresh duties imposed, and his treasury was filled less by the imposts of Egypt than by the contributions from the conquered cities and districts of Syria, the tribute of vassal states and tribes, and the valuable custom-dues of the ports. Some idea of his wealth may be gained from the list of the presents he sent to his ally, the khān of the Golden Horde. There was a throne inlaid with carved ebony and ivory, a silver chest, choice prayer-carpets, curtains, cushions innumerable, fine sword-blades with silver hilts, saddles from Khwārizm, bows from Damascus, Arabian javelins, silver and enamelled lamps and chandeliers, a priceless Korān in a gold-embroidered case, black eunuchs, cooks, Arab horses, dromedaries, mules, wild asses, giraffes, apes, parrots, etc.

His government was enlightened, just, and strict. He met the severe famine of 1264 by measures at once wise and generous, by regulating the sale of corn, and by undertaking, and compelling his officers and emirs to undertake, the support of the destitute for three months. He allowed no wine (though the tax on it used to produce 6000 *D.* a year), beer, or hashish in his dominions; he attempted to eradicate contagious diseases by scientific isolation; he was strict with the morals of his subjects, shut up taverns and brothels, and banished the European women of the town; though, personally, he was addicted to the Tatar kumiz, and was suspected of oriental depravity. He was no sybarite, whatever his vices; no man was more full of energy and power of work. If his days were often given to hunting or polo, lance-play or

marksmanship, his nights were devoted to business. A courier who arrived at daybreak received the answering despatches by the third hour, with invariable punctuality. We have seen (p. 247) how once fifty-six documents were drawn up, signed, and sealed in one night.

With the people he was popular: the Muslims always admired a fighting sultan, especially if he had an open hand, and Beybars was lavish in largesse, as well as in alms. He was also approved by the religious, not only on account of his pious endowments, but because he showed no favour to any one party in Islâm. For the first time he appointed four kâdîs, one for each of the four orthodox schools, and, by playing off one against another, contrived to get his own way in everything affecting law and religion. The nobles and officers of the state and army stood in dread of his wrath. He suspected every one, and constantly shifted his governors from post to post to prevent their acquiring local influence. If an emir showed a trace of treason there was no mercy for him; on the other hand, a loyal servant was sure of good pay, rapid promotion, and a share of the conquered lands. The sultan's worst quality was his perfidy; his word and his oath were worthless, and he prided himself upon tricking an enemy to his death. The insidious device by which he got rid of an Armenian ecclesiastic, by sending him a compromising letter and causing it to be waylaid by an Egyptian agent and shown to the Mongol governor, is but one of many instances. But it is fair to remember that he only met like with like, and that the court in which he was trained, supplemented by the experience of his own career, was not such as to encourage boundless confidence in his comrades or servants. By such steps as he had climbed, others might climb too, and it is not surprising that suspicion kept his dungeons in the Citadel constantly full. His mistrust of his agents led to various devices in order to watch them unseen; he was supposed to be confined to his tent by illness in Palestine when he had really ridden incognito all the way to Cairo, where he stayed several days concealed in the

Citadel, studying the behaviour of his unsuspecting representatives. On another occasion he is said to have ventured in disguise into Asia Minor to spy out the land, and having left a ring in pledge at a cook-shop, he had the effrontery to write to the Mongol Ilkhān Abāgā to request that it might be returned. His courage and daring, whether in battle or in dangerous exploration, were extraordinary. The heroic qualities of sultan Beybars have outlived his faults and pettinesses, and to the present century the audiences in the coffee-shops¹ of Cairo have delighted in the story-tellers' recital of the daring exploits and princely generosity of the king who has impressed the imagination of the Egyptians more than any other, scarcely excepting Alexander and Saladin.

¹ See the account of the romance of Ez-Zāhir (Ez-lh-Dhāhir) in Lane. *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xxi.

CHAPTER X

THE HOUSE OF KALÄ'ÜN

1279—1382

Authorities.—Abū-l-Fidā, en-Nuweyrī, Ibn-Baṭūta, el-Maḳrizī, Abū-l-Mahāsin, el-Kalḳashandī, Ibn-İyās; modern: Quatrenière's *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* and *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv.; Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens* and *Cat. Or. Coins in B.M.*; Casanova, *Hist. de la citadelle du Caire* (*Mém. miss. archéol. franç.* vi.).

Principal Monuments in Egypt.—Mosque, māristān, and kubba (medfən) Kalā'ün, 1284—1303; mosque emir Beydar; tomb Khalil, in south Karāfa, 1288; Lāgīn's restoration M. of Ibn-Tūlūn, 1296; T. Zeyn-ed-din Yūsuf, 1298; Medr. en-Nāṣir, 1299; restorations M. of el-Hākim, Azhar, Ibn-Ruzzik, etc., 1302—4; khānaqāh Beybars II, 1310; Medr. Ṭaybars (in Azhar), 1309; aqueduct and buildings in Citadel, 1313, and M. en-Nāṣir, 1318; M. emir Hoseyn, 1319; M. Al-melik, 1319; Medr. Sengār el-Gāwali and Salār, 1323; T. princess Ordutegin, 1324; M. Ahmad el-Mihmendār, 1325; part of M. Kawshūn, 1329; M. Almās, 1330; Medr. Ākbughā, 1334; T. of Tāshtimur, 1334; palace Beshtāk, c. 1335; T. and M. Altunbughā el-Māridānī, 1338—9; M. Sitta Miska, 1339; M. Aşlam, 1346; M. Kuguk, 1346; M. Aksunkur, 1347; M. Arghün el-Ismā'īlī, 1348; M. Kutlubughā, 1348; M. Mangak, 1350; M., khānaqāh, and sebil Sheykhū, 1350—5; cistern of Lāgīn, 1351; M. Şargħibimish, 1357; M. and T. sultan Hasan, 1356—62; restorations M. el-Hākim, 1359, and Azhar, 1360; Medr. princess Tatar el-Higāziya, 1360; T. princess Tulbiya, 1364; T. Tinkiz, 1363; Medr. el-Ğā'i el-Yusufi, 1373; M. el-Ashraf Sha'bān, 1368.

Principal Inscriptions in Egypt.—On the mosques and tombs enumerated above, often with dates of commencement as well as of completion; Baraka Khān in mosque (disappeared), 1278; Bektimur in M. of Ṭalā'i, 1300; Beybars II in M. Hākim, 1303; Nāṣir on Citadel, 1313, and in M. Kalā'ün, 1303.

Principal Inscriptions in Syria.—Baraka (associated as prince with his father Beybars) on citadel of Damascus, and castle of Karak; Kalā'ün on mausoleum built by him for Beybars and Baraka at Damascus, tablet commemorating conquest of Markab 1285, inscr. at

Balāṭunus, Ba'albekk, Karak, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nābulus, and Sheyar ; Khalil at Yubna, on mosque at Tripolis, citadel of Aleppo ; Ketbughā on great mosque (church) of Ramla, and Hamāh ; Lāgiñ on great mosque (church) of Gaza, at Shawlāk, and Munākhīr ; Nāṣir Mūhammad in ḥaram of Jerusalem, M. el-Aksā, k. es-Ṣakhra, etc., in mosques of Gaza, G'ebela, Tripolis, Ramla, on tower of Ramla, wall and gate of Damascus, and G'isr Tora near by, on castle of Karak, at Latakia and on Mt. Hor ; Kāmil Sha'bān in M. el-Aksā at Jerusalem, on castles of Karak and Tripolis ; Hasan in M. el-Aksā and in great mosque of Ba'albekk ; es-Sālih in M. el-Aksā and mosque at Mu'ta near Karak ; Nāṣir Sha'bān on citadel of Aleppo (MSS. notes of M. van Berchem).

Coin (see under each reign), *armorial badges*, numerous *bowl*s and other vessels, *enamelled glass lamps*, etc. in British, Victoria and Albert, Cairo, Paris, and other museums, and in private collections.

Of the three sons of Beybars, the eldest, by a daughter of Baraka Khān of the Golden Horde, was raised to the throne with the titles el-Melik es-Sa'id Nāṣir-ed-din Baraka Khān. Beybars had proclaimed him his heir as early as 1264, and three years later had caused him to be saluted as "sultan," so anxious was he to secure the dynastic succession to his line. Unhappily he had not transmitted his great qualities to his sons. Es-Sa'id was a weak pleasure-loving youth of nineteen, the tool of his Mongolian mother and of the gay young courtiers of his choice, upon whom he lavished the best appointments of the empire. The old emirs of his father's wars were neglected ; some were imprisoned, or even poisoned by the queen-mother ; their discontent grew into open rebellion, and Sa'id, besieged in the citadel of Cairo, was forced to abdicate, and to retire to the fortress of Karak.¹ The mamlūks begged Kalā'ūn, one of the most capable of the elder generals, to accept the throne ; but the prudent emir foresaw opposition, and preferred to set up the youngest son of his master, Bedr-ed-din Selāmish with the title of el-'Ādil. For a hundred days Kalā'ūn acted as atābeg or regent for the child of seven years, meanwhile placing his own supporters in all the

1279
Aug.

¹ He died in March, 1280, and was buried beside Beybars at Damascus. His brother, el-Mes'ūd Khidr, succeeded him as prince of Karak.

offices of state, and thus preparing the way for the next step. Selāmish was then quietly deposed, and ^{1279 Nov.} Kalā'ū became sultan of Egypt.

El-Melik el-Manṣūr Seyf-ed-din Kalā'ūn el-Elfi es-Sālihi,¹ a Turk of the Burg Oghlu tribe of Kipchak more fortunate in his progeny than Beybars, founded princely house which lasted a hundred years, maintained and even increased the prestige and territorial extent of the Egyptian empire, and filled the capital with noble monuments. He had, however, a stern fight to go through before he was settled on his throne. The mamlūk system had this special weakness, that on the death of the sultan, whom they had elected from their number, the leading emirs were all possible candidates for the vacant place. There was as yet no hereditary order of succession, though the tendency had been to prefer pending party combinations—the temporary recognition of a late sultan's son. There were several of Beybars' generals who felt that they had as good a claim to the throne as Kalā'ūn, and one of them, Sunkur, proclaimed himself king of Syria with the style of el-Melik el-Kāmil ^{1280 Apr.} He had the support of several of the leading Zāhiris or mamlūks of Beybars, together with that of the Bedawi of the desert, and the Ayyūbid prince of Hamāh. Their united forces were defeated by Kalā'ūn only after a ^{June} combat of many hours, aided by desertions, in a great battle at el-Gesūra, near Damascus; and partly by discriminating severity, partly by wise conciliation, the ^{1281 May 3} disaffection was brought to an end. Soon after, he renewed the truce which Beybars had made with the Hospitallers of Markab (in spite of their infractions), and

¹ "The victorious king, sword of the faith, Kalā'ūn the milliary [mamlūk] of es-Sālih." Kalā'ūn, so pronounced in Egypt, but written Kilāwūn in Turkish, means "duck"; and the representation of a wild duck is very common upon bowls and other works in inlaid silver and brass bearing his name or his son's. See my *Art of the Saracens*, pp. 164, 190, 194. The "milliary" refers to his having been purchased for a thousand dinārs. He was a thorough Turk, and spoke very little Arabic. Very few of Kalā'ūn's coins have been preserved; one has a date, Damascus, 682 (1283-4).

concluded treaties with the prince of Tripolis (16 July, 1281), the Templars of Tortosa (15 April, 1282) and the lord of 'Akka (3 June, 1283). These treaties were nominally for ten years, and the most notable provisions they contained were freedom of access for Egyptian vessels to the Christian ports, and ominous restrictions upon further fortifications. That the Christian states agreed to abandon measures of self-defence is evidence that they must have felt their helplessness against the armies of Egypt. Their end was not far off.

These various treaties with the Crusader cities were concluded under the stress of a Mongol invasion. Kalā'ūn wanted his hands free to engage his only formidable enemy, who, taking advantage of the confusion of the Syrian revolt, had crossed the Euphrates, and sacked Aleppo. The sultan raised every man he could, mamlūks and Turkmāns, troops from Ḥamāh and Karak, Bedawis of the deserts, and Arabs from the Hīgāz and from the Euphrates.¹ His total muster was about 50,000. The Mongols, under Mangūtimūr, a brother of the Ilkhān Abāghā, numbered according to different estimates from 50,000 to 80,000, of whom about a third were composed of contingents from Georgia, Armenia, and the East Roman borders. The two armies met near Hims, and the decisive battle was fought on Thursday, 30 Oct., 1281. The bewildering tactics of the Mongol horsemen, who doubtless employed their famous *tulughma* or turning movement, completely broke the Muslim left, which fled helter-skelter to the gates of Hims, hotly pursued by the swift archers of the steppes. Some of the Egyptians were there slaughtered; some continued their flight towards Egypt, bearing lamentable tidings of the sultan's defeat; whilst the victorious pursuers bivouacked outside Hims, and feasted upon their spoils. It occurred to neither party that what had happened to the Egyptian left might not

¹ Maqrīzī describes the contingent of 4000 Arabs of the tribe of Mura as all well mounted, armed with helmet and cuirass covered with silk, carrying sword and lance, and accompanied by a damsel who sang a war-song.

have happened to the right and centre. The steady old troops of the Ayyûbid prince of Hamâh were stationed here, with the active and elusive Bedawis, and these had not only stood the brunt of the Mongols' attack, and put their left to flight, but had wounded their general, and taking them in the moment of leaderless hesitation, had charged home and driven the enemy to utter rout. Just as the Mongol right had chased the Egyptian left, so did the Egyptian right pursue the Mongol left, and the extraordinary spectacle of the two halves of two large armies vehemently hunting each other in opposite directions was exhibited to the amazed sultan of Egypt, as, with a guard of only a thousand mamlûks, he stood deserted upon a hill ! The feasting Mongols, however, soon learned the disaster to their left, and hastened to join their retreating comrades. They were in such a hurry that they did not even turn aside to cut up the sultan's small brigade, though they passed so close to him that he anxiously concealed his banners and silenced his drums. As soon as he saw their backs, however, he fell upon them, harassed their retreat, and sent orders by pigeon to his governors at the Euphrates to bar the fords. It was the worst disaster the Mongols had met with in their attempts upon Syria : Kuçuz, Beybars, and now Kalâ'un had defeated them, and the greatest defeat was the last.

¹²⁸² The result was an armed truce for seventeen years.
^{Apr.} Both Mangûtimûr and Abâghâ died in the following spring, and the next Ilkhân of Persia, Ahmed, was a Mongol converted to Islâm. He did not on that account renounce the policy of his predecessors, and the correspondence with Kalâ'un exchanged through his ambassador hinted not obscurely at war; but a rival in his ¹²⁸³ own country mended his manners, and a second embassy ^{Aug.} brought handsome presents and friendly assurances. The ambassadors were received at Damascus by Kalâ'un, who was surrounded by a guard of 1500 mamlûks, dressed in red atlas satin, with golden girdles, and turbans of cloth of gold, each holding a wax candle. But at this moment Ahmed was dead, and the sultan of

Egypt had no further trouble with the Mongols for the rest of his reign. With the rival Mongol of the Golden Horde he preserved the amicable relations established by Beybars, and also with the emperor of Constantinople, the kings of France, and Castile, and Sicily, the republic of Genoa, and the emperor Rudolf of Habsburg. With Genoa he concluded a commercial treaty, whilst Alfonso of Castile and James of Sicily actually made a defensive alliance with the Muslim sultan against all comers (1280). The king of the Yemen sent him costly presents, and even the ruler of Ceylon despatched an embassy with a letter which no one at Cairo could read, and with a more intelligible oral communication inviting trade with his rich country and offering the aid of twenty ships. Kalā'un, like Beybars, was a far-sighted statesman, and did his utmost to attract merchants to Egypt. His passports, ensuring protection throughout his dominions to foreign traders, were current as far as India and China.

When the fear of the Mongols had abated, the sultan lost no time in reducing the Crusader cities. His treaties¹ were valid only so long as he found them convenient, and his oath was no more sacred than that of Beybars. In spite of his ten years' engagement with the Hospitallers, he suddenly fell upon their great fortress of Markab, which was totally unprepared for a ¹²⁸⁵
^{May 25} siege, and surrendered. The count of Tripolis was then forced to yield him Marakiya on the coast, though its position defied a siege by land. Margaret of Tyre purchased peace for ten years (on paper) by surrendering ^{Aug.} half her revenues and engaging never to renew her fortifications. The kingdom of Little Armenia was raided and compelled to buy a ten years' truce by a tribute of 1,000,000 dirhems yearly, to release all Muslim prisoners, and also to desist from all measures of defence. In defiance of the treaty with Tripolis, Latakia was ¹²⁸⁷ seized; and after the death of Boemond VII—the death of a signatory was then held to void a treaty—

¹ Some of these documents are printed in Arabic, with French translation, in the appendix to Quatremère's *Maqrizi*, II., i. 166 ff.

¹²⁸⁹ Tripolis itself was besieged, sapped, and stormed, the
^{Apr.} ² men put to the sword, the women and children enslaved,
and the city burnt. Finally, the people of 'Akka having
broken the truce, and any pretext being welcome, a
Holy War was proclaimed, and the sultan had just set
¹²⁹⁰ forth to its conquest, when he suddenly died in his tent
^{Nov.} ¹⁰ at the age of seventy.

Kalāūn followed closely in the steps of Beybars. Their circumstances were identical, and he had confronted the same difficulties with the same policy, fortifying himself by foreign and commercial alliances, temporizing with minor enemies near at hand, in order to meet the one real danger, the Mongol invasion, with his full strength. He had fully maintained the prestige and extent of the empire, and though two expeditions into Nubia (1287, 1289)¹ had not succeeded in suppressing a contumelious king, Shemamūn had at least been so far impressed by the repeated and temporarily successful invasions of the Egyptians, that he renewed the annual *bakī* or tribute which he had rashly renounced. The army was kept in a high state of efficiency, and never before had the 12,000 manlūks been so strictly disciplined and restrained from their natural excesses. About a third of these were quartered in the citadel of Cairo, and this brigade was known as "the Burgīs" (men of the Burg or tower). Many of them were Circassians, or Mongols from the Golden Horde. Kalāūn is extolled by his eastern contemporaries as a king at once brave and prescient, just and mild, who abhorred bloodshed; yet he could be stern and severe to disloyal emirs, many of whom were executed, imprisoned, or despoiled, whilst his punishments were sometimes barbarous. A Christian who had married a Muslima, contrary to the law, was burnt, and his wife was disfigured. Against Christians, whether on the Syrian coast or in the Egyptian chanceries, he was prejudiced, and by the end of his reign they were

¹ For the various Egyptian campaigns in Nubia and the Sūdān, which cannot be fully narrated here, see Quatremère's *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte, etc.*, ii. 39-126.

excluded from all government offices. Towards his Muslim subjects he was benevolent, and his chief pious foundation was devoted as much to the physical as to the spiritual well-being of the people. When Kalā·ūn was lying seriously ill in Nūr-ed-din's hospital at Damascus he made a vow that if he recovered he would build a hospital at Cairo. The result was the well-



Fig. 60.—Tomb-mosque of Kalā·ūn, 1284.

known Māristān, completed in 1284. The buildings are really three: a mosque, a hospital, and the founder's tomb-chapel (*medfən*). The tomb-chapel is decorated with wonderful arabesque tracery and reliefs in plaster, and with fine marble mosaic; and the red granite pillars, and the robes of the sultan and his son here preserved, have been touched by sick people, barren wives, and dumb

children for centuries in a belief in their curative virtues. The mosque is less striking, but the hospital is one of the most remarkable buildings in Cairo. It contains three courts, two of which are surrounded by small cells, whilst from a larger court with a colonnade on each side open a number of rooms. There were originally wards for every known disease, and a regular medical staff, lecture room, laboratories, dispensary, baths, kitchens, and every appliance then understood. Musicians soothed the wretched hours of the sufferers, whilst in the adjoining mosque tiny salaried readers of the Koran taught the foundations of religion, and a librarian with five assistants presided over a fine collection of medical, theological, and legal books. Sixty orphans were maintained and educated in the neighbouring school. The hospital was the first ever built in Cairo, and its value was immediately appreciated. Rich and poor were alike treated gratuitously, and this great work has made the name of Kalā'īn blessed among nations in Egypt, for with Moslem charity covers a multitude of sins.¹

Of the four sons of Kalā'īn, 'Ali-ed-din had been declared his successor in 1880, but when he died mysteriously in 1888, the next son Khalil was appointed heir, though his father, whether from dislike of his violent and godless character, or because he suspected him of poisoning his brother, could never be induced to sign the formal deed of appointment. "I will not give the Moslems," he said, "a king like Khalil." He was waiting probably for the younger son Muhammad to grow up. But meanwhile Kalā'īn's death and the public recognition did what the unsigned diploma intended. Without opposition el-Malik el-Aziz ed-Din Khalil² sat on his father's throne. From the first he set himself to humiliate

¹ For the condition and use of the Nicissia cells in the present memory, see *Cairo, Egypt, 1907*, p. 2, 2, and for the administration and treatment consult my *Art. of the Services*, 73-5, 91, 101, 123 ff.

² Some of Khalil's acts have been written down, Cairo 1911 (A.M.A. Report), Alexandria, 692.

or get rid of the trusted henchmen of his father's court and army. His brief reign of three years is full of execution, imprisonment, and spoliation of the great emirs. The highest ministers of state were the first to suffer : Turunṭāi, the chief wezir, was cut down before the sultan's eyes, and Lāğin only escaped death before the throne because the bowstring snapped at his wind-pipe, and the emirs begged him off. The confiscation of Turunṭāi's goods brought the sultan 600,000 *D.* in gold, 17,000 lb. of silver coins, and countless slaves, horses, and jewels ; whilst the blind son of the murdered man was reduced to beg his bread.

Khalil, at the age of twenty-seven, combined in a superlative degree the worst vices of a cruel and capricious tyrant. His one virtue was courage, and his

one exploit the conquest of 'Akka. Although the campaign was the legacy of his hated father, he was eager to carry out the policy of extirpating the "infidels" ; and little as he cared for religion, he had enough



Fig. 61.—Dinār of Khalil, Cairo,
date effaced.

superstition to preface every campaign by a solemn service of prayer and Korān-reading under the beautiful dome of his father's tomb. The Syrian officials were ordered to send their troops to the plain of 'Akka, together with such quantities of siege material and machines that they filled a hundred ox-carts. Khalil with the army of Egypt joined the camp on April 5, and in a week, ¹²⁹² Apr. ninety-two siege engines were playing upon the walls and outworks. 'Akka had the reputation, dating from Saladin's time, of the most formidable fortified place in Syria, and Khalil had brought together an unusually heavy siege train. The defence, however, was not what it had been in former and better days. The fall of so many Christian cities in the campaigns of Beybars and Kalā'ūn had filled 'Akka with a dangerously mixed and

CONQUEST OF AKKA

demoralized population, the offscourings of the refuse of Europe.

"Within its walls were gathered representatives from every nation in Christendom. For every one there was a separate commune, and the various lords of the land, the masters of the great orders, the representatives of the kings of France, England, and Jerusalem, each exercised separate authority, so that there were in one city seventeen independent powers, 'whence there sprang much confusion.' It is not strange that in such circumstances the city became, as it were, the sink into which all the vileness of Christendom found its way. Over its mixed population many ruled but none had authority; within its walls the precepts of religion, law, and morality were alike void, so that in its last days 'Akka became a byword in all Christian lands for the luxury, turbulence, and vice of its inhabitants. . . . There were not wanting enough soldiers to have successfully defended the city; but even in this the last hour of their extremity, its inhabitants were more intent upon feasting than upon fighting. Cowardice and discord also played their part in ruining the hopes of a successful defence. Many at the first threat of danger made haste to flee over-sea; whilst others who stayed for a time departed when the prospects of success grew desperate. . . . Not even when the whole purpose of their existence was in peril could the Templars and Hospitallers lay aside their mutual jealousy; and so the defence, if conducted with valour in parts, lacked that general unity of purpose which could alone have made it successful. At length on Friday, May 18, Khalil's engines had wrought such a breach in the walls that, the moat being filled with stones and bodies of the dead, his army forced its way into the city. The people fled before him to the towers, the palaces of the nobles, or the great house of the Templars. Others, making their way to the harbour, crowded on board the ships in such numbers that some vessels were swamped as they lay at anchor. Henry II of Cyprus, who had played a not unworthy part in the early days of the siege, had already escaped to his island

kingdom, whither the grand master of the Hospital and a number of other fugitives now followed him. But there yet remained 60,000 Christians whose fate was slavery, or the sword, or worse. The Templars and those who had taken refuge with them met the noblest end; for, resisting to the last, they succumbed only when their fortress was undermined, and together with numbers of their assailants perished in its ruins."¹

So the last stronghold of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and given to the flames; its renowned towers and bastions were thrown down, its fortifications razed to the earth; and, though a new town rose in its place, the 'Akka of the Middle Ages, the city of a valiant century of fighting, vanished for ever. With its fall the last remnant of the crusading dominions disappeared: for when 'Akka was lost, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrūt, and the few remaining cities of the Franks could only succumb to fate. Some were taken, some surrendered, but all, save Beyrūt, were demolished, their inhabitants massacred or enslaved, and the name of Crusader wiped clean out of the land. The "debate of the world" was closed.

Khalil entered Damascus with a multitude of captives, and a brave display of Christian skulls upon his spear-heads. His success heightened his resolve. He extracted the old caliph Hākim from his quiet retreat in the Citadel of Cairo, and made him thrice preach a Holy War in the mosque. He had another solemn service at the tomb of his father. He marched to the Euphrates, besieged and took the "fortress of the Greeks,"¹²⁹² June Kal'at-er-Rūm, and renamed it Kal'at-el-Muslimin.²⁹ He announced that he was about to conquer the whole of Asia and the land of the Romans, till his rule should be supreme from the dawn to the sunset; and then he went home to Cairo. He proclaimed a conquest of the Yemen,¹²⁹³ and then a campaign in Armenia, but it ended at Damascus, where the prudent Cilician surrendered Mar'ash and Behesna in order to keep the peace. The

¹ Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*, 414—418.

Ikhān of Persia sent an envoy to say that he wished to live at Aleppo, which had once been taken by his father, and to request its surrender; Khalil replied that he had similar views about Baghdād, which had belonged to his caliphs, and they would see which would get to his goal first. This idle boasting came to an abrupt end ¹²⁹³_{Duc.} when Khalil was lured into a shooting party and ¹⁰ murdered by some of his disgusted emirs. When the chief regicide was caught—no less a personage than Beydara, the prime minister of Egypt—before his execution he addressed the assembled emirs in justification of his act. “A man,” he said, “like Khalil, who drinks wine in the month of fasting, who is given over to unnatural vice, who turns his slaves into nobles, and slights the old emirs of his father, throws some into chains, and puts others to the sword, is not fit to rule over Muslims.”

The next half century of mamlūk history is occupied by the three interrupted reigns of Kalā'ūn's surviving son (by the Mongol princess Aslūn Khātūn) el-Melik en-Nāṣir Nāṣir-ed-din Mohammad, who was set up by the leading emirs, at the age of nine, after his brother's death; was deposed in a year; brought back five years later (1298); retired again after ten years; and when a year more had passed came back for the third time in 1309, and retained the throne for thirty years till his death (1340). His repeated restoration was due less to any principle of hereditary right—though respect for the memory of his father inclined people to his descendants—than to the jealousies of the leading emirs, which rendered any choice of a sultan from among them little better than an incentive to civil war and murder. En-Nāṣir's first reign was of course purely nominal. The real power lay in the hands of the great nobles who divided the high offices of state among themselves. Kethughā was viceroy (*nāib-es-salṭana*), Sengār esh-Shugħālī was wezir, Beybars the Taster (*gāshnegīr*) was master of the household. The new government at first displayed virtuous energy in capturing the regicides, and avenged Khalil's murder upon such as they caught by

horrible forms of death. A favourite torment was to nail the criminal to boards and parade him through the streets on a camel till he died of thirst and agony. Like all such military cliques, the party soon split up into jealous factions, one supporting Ketbughā, the other Shugā'i. Street fights ensued, and at last Shugā'i was closely besieged in the citadel by an angry mob demanding his head. He was at length betrayed by en-Nāṣir's Mongolian mother, who sympathized with her fellow countryman Ketbughā outside the walls. The head of Shugā'i was paraded on a pike, and the populace protested their undying loyalty to the royal house.

Ketbughā was now virtually sultan, and his name was prayed for on Fridays next to en-Nāṣir's. To strengthen his position he obtained pardon for the two leading regicides—Lāgin and Karāsunqur, who enjoyed large popularity and had a strong following—with whom he began to scheme for the possession of the throne. His favour to these emirs roused the indignation of the Ashrafis, or mamlūks of the murdered Ashraf Khalil, 300 in number, who rose in revolt, seized the royal stables and the armourers' market, and after plundering and destroying whatever lay to their hands, encamped at the Citadel gate and laid siege to the fortress. Ketbughā's troops mounted and rode down to disperse them, and after their defeat the rebels were given over to sundry forms of torture, blinded, maimed, drowned, beheaded, and hanged, or nailed to the city gate Zawila; and only a few were so far spared that they were allotted as slaves to their conquerors. Thus the rebellion was put down; but the next day, the viceroy, calling a council of the great nobles of the court, protested that such exhibitions were dishonourable to the kingly state, and that the dignity of sultan would be irreparably compromised if a child like en-Nāṣir were any longer suffered to occupy the throne. The child ¹²⁹⁴
Dec. was therefore sent away to grow up, and Ketbughā, as a matter of course, succeeded. He was unlucky in being associated in the people's mind with a great famine and a terrible plague, when 700 corpses were borne out of

a single gate of Cairo in one day, and 17,500 deaths were recorded in a month. These calamities, added to the discontent excited by the new sultan's favouritism towards the Mongol officers, led to a conspiracy. At the end of 1296, on his return from a journey to Syria, his tent was attacked; his guards and mamlūks, by a devoted resistance, succeeded in enabling their master to fly; and the leader of the rebellion, the new viceroy Lāgin, was forthwith chosen sultan in his stead.

Husam-ed-din Lāgin el-Mansūri,¹ who now ascended the throne under the title of el-Mansūr, had originally been a slave of el-Mansūr 'Ali,² son of Aybek, and had then been bought for about £30 by Kalā'un, under whom he rose from the grade of page to that of *silāhdār*, or armour-bearer; and Kalā'un, coming to the throne, gave him the rank of emir, and made him

viceroy of Syria. Khalil sent Lāgin into prison, and in return Lāgin assisted in his murder. During the brief reign of Ketbughā, he held the highest office as viceroy, and now he had turned against his



Fig. 62.—Dirhām of Ketbughā, Cairo
(1294-95).

latest lord, and had seized the crown for himself. He had at least some claim of connexion with the royal family (if any hereditary principle was then acknowledged), for he had married a daughter of Kalā'un. The terms of his election throw an interesting light upon the precarious authority of the mamlūk sultans. His fellow conspirators marched at his stirrup, hailed him sultan, and paid him homage; but they exacted as a

¹ The few coins preserved of Ketbughā and Lāgin generally have their dates effaced by wear, but one of Ketbughā has the date [69]4 (1294).

² The European idea that Lāgin was a German is not confirmed by any Arabic authority, and is probably baseless.

condition of their fealty that the new monarch should continue as one of themselves, do nothing without their advice, and never show undue favour towards his own mamlüks. This he swore ; but so suspicious were they of his good faith, that they made him swear it again, openly hinting that when he was once instated he would break his vow and favour his own followers to the injury of the nobles who had raised him to the throne.

¹²⁹⁴
Dec. 7

When this had been satisfactorily arranged, Lāgin rode on to Cairo, attended by the insignia of sovereignty, with the royal parasol borne over his head by the great lord Beysari ; the prayers were said in his name in the mosques, drums were beaten in the towns he passed through ; the nobles of Cairo came out to do him fealty ; and, escorted by a crowd of lords and officers, he rode to the Citadel, displayed himself as sultan to the people in the *meydān*, and made his royal progress through the streets from the Citadel to the gate of Victory. The 'Abbāsid caliph, a feeble relic of the ancient house of Baghdād, rode at his side ; and before them was carried the caliph's diploma of investiture, without which no sultan would have considered his coronation complete. The streets were decorated with precious silks and arms, and great was the popular rejoicing ; for the benevolence and generosity of Lāgin made him a favourite with the people, and he had already promised to remit the balance of the year's taxes, and had even vowed that if he lived there should not be a single tax left. The price of food, which had risen to famine height during the late disturbances, now fell sixty per cent. ; bread was cheap, and the sultan was naturally adored.

In spite of his share in a royal murder and a treacherous usurpation, he seems to have earned the affection of his subjects. Not only did he relieve the people from much of the pressure of unjust and arbitrary taxation under which they had groaned, but he abstained, at least until he fell under the influence of another mind, from the tyrannical imprisonments and tortures by which the rule of the mamlüks was too commonly secured. His conduct to his rivals was clement to a degree hardly

paralleled among the princes of his time. He did not attempt to destroy the ex-sultan Ketbughā, but gave him the government of Sarkhad by way of compensation.¹ The child Nāṣir had nothing to fear from Lāḡin, who told him that, as his father's mamlūk, he only regarded himself as his representative, holding the throne until Nāṣir should be old enough to reign himself. Lāḡin was zealous in good works, gave alms largely in secret, and founded many charitable endowments. His restoration of the mosque of Ibn-Ṭūlūn, at a cost of £10,000, was impelled by the circumstance that he had found refuge in the then deserted cloisters during the pursuit which followed the murder of Khalil. Hidden in the neglected chambers and arcades of the old mosque, whither so few worshippers repaired that but a single lamp was lighted before the niche at night, and the muēdhdhin deigned to come no further than the threshold to chant the call to prayer, Lāḡin vowed that he would repay his preservation by repairing the mosque that had sheltered him. Such good deeds, and the magnanimous release of many prisoners, could not fail to endear him to the populace; and after he was confined to the Citadel for two months with injuries resulting from a fall at polo, the rejoicings on his return to public life were genuine and universal. All the streets were decorated with silks and satins, the shops and windows were hired by sight-seers eager to catch a glimpse of the sultan, and drums were beaten during his state progress through the capital. He celebrated the occasion by giving a number of robes of honour to the chief lords, freeing captives, and distributing alms to the poor. His private life commended him to the good Muslims of Cairo; for although in his youth he had been a wine-bibber, gambler, and too much absorbed in sport, when he ascended the throne he became austere in his practice, fasted two months in the year besides Ramaḍān, affected the society of good pious ḫādis and divines, was plain in his dress, as the Prophet

¹ Ketbughā lived to serve his old master's son, en-Nāṣir, loyally in his wars, revisited Cairo, and died in 1303, much respected for his high character and piety.

ordains that a Muslim should be, and strict in enforcing simplicity among his followers. His ruddy complexion and blue eyes, together with a tall and imposing figure, indeed marked the foreigner, but his habits were orthodoxy itself; he bastinadoed drunkards, even if they were nobles; and his immoderate eating was not necessarily wicked.

But Lāgin, in spite of his promise, began to make favourites. He had at first appointed his fellow-conspirators to the great offices of state; but gradually he began to replace the old emirs by new men, and a certain Mangūtimūr acquired a supreme and unhappy influence over his amiable sovereign. Tried and honoured nobles were tested on the proposal that the new viceroy should be Lāgin's successor, and on their indignant negation of the possibility of such a step, they were cast into prison, where they died with suspicious regularity. At last even the great lord Beysari, the richest and most popular emir in Egypt, was thus arrested, though the marshal led him to prison with tears in his eyes. Murmurs became louder, and to silence them Lāgin sent the army to ravage Little Armenia, and took the opportunity to disperse the Syrian nobles whom he distrusted. Some fled to the Mongols of Persia, and Syria was given over to anarchy. Egypt was scarcely less disturbed: Mangūtimūr's oppressions and reprisals were not tamely endured by the emirs; but it was



Fig. 63.—Inscription on medresa (college) of en-Nāṣir at Cairo, 1299.

no light thing to risk the horrors of incarceration in the Citadel dungeon, a noisome pit, where foul and deadly exhalations, unclean vermin, and bats, rendered the darkness more horrible. At length a plot was formed by two determined men ; Lāgin was murdered as he was in the act of rising to say the evening prayers, and immediately afterwards Mangūtimür was entrapped. He was for the moment consigned to the pit under the Citadel ; but the emir who had dealt the fatal stroke to Lāgin arrived on the scene, and crying with a strident voice, "What had the sultan done that I should kill him ? By God, I never had aught but benefits from him ; he brought me up, and gave me my steps of promotion. Had I known that when the sultan was dead this Mangūtimür would be living, I would never have done this murder, for it was this man's acts that led me to the deed." So saying, he plunged into the dungeon, slew the hated favourite with his own hands, and delivered his house over to the soldiers to pillage.

The murderers, one of whom assumed the throne for a few days, were duly executed with that sense of justice which the mamlūks always displayed towards other people's crimes. But after this experience of the rule of an emir, the only course was to revert to the established line ; and en-Nāṣir was brought back to Cairo and welcomed with a burst of enthusiasm. Two days later he was again enthroned¹ with a new diploma of investiture from the nominal caliph. Robes of honour were distributed, cities decorated, drums beaten throughout the empire. He was still only fourteen, and no match for the stern emirs who really governed. The new governors who now departed to their provincial posts, after kissing the threshold of the Citadel according to custom, were all creatures of the emirs Salār and Beybars "the Taster" (gāshnegir), the one a Uirat Tatar, the

¹ Coins of Nāṣir's second reign (1299–1310) bear the dates Cairo, 69x (which must be 698 or 699 = 1299–1300), and Cairo, 707 (1307–8). Many more coins bearing the name of Nāṣir, and the mints Cairo, Aleppo, Hamāh, Tripolis, Damascus, may belong either to this or to the first or third reign.

other a Circassian, who managed the affairs of state much to their own advantage. The caliph held councils on Saturdays, but all he had to do was to register the decisions of his emirs : Salār suggested a certain measure, and Nāṣir announced its sanction. Whilst the great nobles were amassing vast fortunes from their landed fiefs and various perquisites—Salār's daughter was given a dowry of 160,000 *D.*—the sultan was kept almost in penury, and deprived of the delicacies and luxuries to which he was accustomed. The only question seemed to be which of the two leaders, Salār or Beybars, would overthrow the other and seize the throne. So far they were acting together, inseparable in public acts and ceremonies, but the duel must come before long.

Meanwhile every other consideration was merged in the renewed struggle with the Mongols. The Bahri mamlūks, who had fled to Ghāzān, one of the greatest and best of the Ilkhāns of Persia, had fully revealed to him the distracted condition of Syria at the close of Lāgīn's reign, and with their counsel the Mongols again crossed the Euphrates in great strength to recover what they had lost in 1282. The young sultan, though no warrior, rode at the head of the army of Egypt to meet the invader, leaving the real command to the emirs, to whom war was as the breath of life. Bad fortune attended the march from the outset. The emirs were jealous and quarrelsome ; a conspiracy of Uirat refugees of Syria against the Egyptian leaders, though savagely suppressed, bred wider suspicions ; much of the camp baggage was lost in the flooded torrents ; a dense flight of swallows, an evil omen, darkened the sky—the army was dismayed. Then as they neared Damascus crowds of fugitives from Aleppo and the north testified to the terror of the invasion. Still advancing, but with sinking hearts, the Egyptians came in sight of the Mongols at Hims. " Throw away your lances," was the order, " and trust to sword and mace." The only chance lay in close fighting, eye to eye, when the Mongol bowmen could not use their arrows. In the " Ghyll of the Treasurer" (*Wādy-el-Khāzindār*) 20,000 or so of mamlūk

Sept.

Nov.

¹²⁹⁹ horsemen met a Mongol army estimated at four or five times their number. But all the great emirs were there, ²³ mighty men of war, and the troopers were heavily armed and bound by clannish ties to their leaders. The usual formation in three divisions, centre and right and left wing, was observed, and a body of 500 grenadiers armed with naptha tubes was placed in front of the line. Holy divines went up and down the ranks, exhorting the men not to waver, till the soldiers wept in self-compassion! Ghāzān kept his Mongols dismounted, behind their horses, and threw the first move upon the Egyptians. The naptha was discharged, without effect, and then the Mongols abandoned their reserve, and after pouring a deadly volley of arrows into the advancing Egyptians, mounted and charged with their usual dash. As at the earlier battle of Hims, each side scored a success on opposite wings, and for a moment the issue wavered. Then Ghāzān, stemming his fears, rallied his men to a second charge, which broke the centre, and the splendid cavalry of Egypt turned and fled. The great emirs, Salār, Bektimür, Burlughī, all were riding for their lives, with the arrows of their pursuers hissing past their ears. The weeping sultan was left with eighteen mamlūks for his guard. He was saved by the Egyptian left, who had been successful at the outset of the battle, and coming back from the pursuit of their opponents were amazed to find the day lost and the king abandoned. Their arrival, coupled with the heavy loss of the Mongols, checked the rout, and the remnant of the army retreated in fair order to Damascus, and thence with the utmost speed to Egypt.

¹³⁰⁰ The Mongols immediately occupied Damascus without resistance, and to his credit, Ghāzān, who was a Muslim, and also a wise and generous king, showed the utmost clemency to the inhabitants, not only of his own religion, but Jews and Christians as well. No pillage or annoyance was to be permitted.¹ The community of religion

¹ The decree of capitulation (from Nuweyri) is printed in Quatremère's Makrizi, II., ii. 151, note, and the subsequent firmān constituting the new government of Syria, *ibid.* 156, note; see also Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, iii. 441 ff.

naturally distinguished this conquest from the earlier invasions when the Mongols were still heathen ; but there was a good deal of the old leaven among them, they were hard to hold, and outside Damascus they committed much havoc. Even inside a vast amount of injury was done, nearly 10,000 inhabitants were killed or sold, and many precious monuments of the age of Nûr-ed-din burnt and destroyed ; but this breach of faith must be ascribed less to Mongol perfidy than to the impossibility of restraining a barbarous army, and to the inevitable destruction caused by the valorous defence of the citadel, which Arḡawâsh, the Egyptian commandant, resolutely refused to surrender, and whence he waged a vigorous contest with the city. Meanwhile Egypt was strenuously working for revenge. Immense preparations in arms and money were made. The demand for mounts was so great that the price of a horse rose from £12 to £40 ; and gold was so plentiful that the dinâr fell to the exchange value of seventeen instead of twenty-five dirhems. In view of these preparations, and of danger on the eastern frontier, and finding the citadel inexpugnable, the Mongols evacuated Damascus, after an orgy of drink and debauchery such as had never before been known in that home of orthodoxy.

The Bahri mamlûks who had accompanied Ghâzân were left in command, and reverted to their Egyptian allegiance. Arḡawash came down from the citadel he had so valiantly defended, restored order, repressed rioting, poured out the Mongols' wine and broke their bottles. The Egyptians reoccupied Damascus and Aleppo and the whole of Syria ; and the Druzes of the Lebanon, whose 12,000 bowmen had harassed the mamlûks in their retreat four months before, were brought to a heavy reckoning.

Negotiations followed : after a disastrous expedition into north Syria, where rains and snow decimated his army, Ghâzân sent two embassies to Cairo to treat for peace, but without result.¹ Once more the issue of war

¹ The correspondence is given in Quatremère, *I.c.*, Appendix, II., ii. 289 ff., where (309 ff.) will be found an elaborate account of oriental diplomatic and the technical formalities of despatches.

must be tried, and 100,000 Mongols under Kütlughshāh¹³⁰³ marched into Syria. Damascus was in panic; men deserted their families and fled for protection, people were trampled to death in the crowds that thronged out of the gates, extravagant prices were paid for horses and as to carry out the terror-stricken population. No such fears disturbed Beybars and the great mamlūks who entered the frightened city in April. They rode out to meet the Mongols, whom they found, 50,000 strong, Shakhab on the plain of Marg-es-Suffar,¹ where Saracens had defeated the army of Heraclius nearly seven centuries before. Nāṣir with the caliph and the main body of the Egyptian army came up from Cairo the same day. The spectacle was repeated of the def.

^{Apr.}
²¹ of the Egyptian right, with severe loss, by the Mongols whilst the left and centre remained steady and resisted every assault. At the end of the day the Egyptians were in possession of the field, and the Mongols had retired to a neighbouring hill. "The sultan and his people passed the night on horseback, while the drunke were beaten and the cymbals sounded to direct the fugitives to the rallying place, and the mountain which the Mongols had taken refuge was speedily blockaded. Salār, Kipchak, and the other emirs spent the night in going round the ranks encouraging the men. At sunrise the Egyptian army was seen ranged in order . . . an imposing spectacle. Presently the Mongols descended to meet them, and a vigorous struggle recommenced, several of the sultan's mamlūks having their horses shot under them. The combat lasted until noon, when Kütlughshāh withdrew again to the mountain."² Again the Mongols, urged by thirst, came down to force their way through the surrounding enemy, at this time the Egyptians craftily let them through, only to fall upon their retreating squadrons. The exhausted enemy were cut to pieces, or lost in the desert, and was a miserable remnant that followed Kütlughshāh or

¹ The historians Abū-l-Fidā and en-Nuweyrī both personally took part in the battle.

² Howorth, *Mongols*, iii. 470.

the Euphrates. 10,000 prisoners and 20,000 head of cattle fell to the conquerors. The catastrophe almost broke Ghāzān's heart : he died soon after, and his successor, Ulgāitū, was careful never to risk an encounter ¹⁷ with the mamlūks, who had now for the fourth time beaten back the most dangerous enemy that Egypt had encountered since the Muslim conquest.

Nāṣir returned to Cairo in a wave of glory. Messengers had announced the news, and the emirs vied with one another in setting up costly pavilions, or grand stands, richly decorated and furnished, along the route of his procession. Workmen were forbidden to do anything but set up these triumphal erections. Rooms along the route were let at from £2 to £4 for the day. Silken carpets were laid in the street ; and the proud sultan rode between the brilliant façades and admired the nobles' pavilions, while troops of Mongol prisoners in chains, each with a fellow Mongol's head hanging from his neck, completed the triumph. So noisy were the rejoicings and so deafening the tumult of drums and music throughout Egypt that nothing short of an earthquake sobered the people.¹

The Mongol war was the great event of Nāṣir's second reign. Beside it the frequent campaigns waged in Cilicia to compel the king of Little Armenia to pay his tribute, or to divert the attention of the mamlūk soldiery from ambitions at home, and a fruitless invasion of Nubia (1304-6), are unimportant. An expedition was equipped in transports built on the Nile to expel the Templars from the island of Aradus (*Anṭartūs*) on the Syrian coast, the last foothold of the Crusaders, and accomplished its object with the usual slaughter. The relations of the Egyptian sultan with foreign powers continued friendly. The old alliance with the khāns of the Golden Horde was maintained, though the mamlūks had no longer any necessity for making common cause against the Persian Mongols. Nubia sent tributary presents (1305), ambassadors came from Morocco,

¹ See below, p. 301.

France, and the emperor of Constantinople (1306), who obtained permission to reopen the church of the Muṣallīya at Jerusalem.

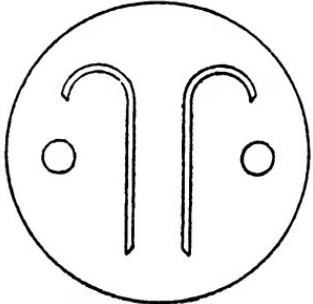
Abroad all was favourable, but the internal condition of Egypt left much to be desired. The taxation for the war-chest had caused much poverty and discontent. The Bedawi tribes in Upper Egypt had thrown off the sultan's authority after the disaster at Ḥims in 1299, and had mockingly nicknamed their own chiefs "Salār" and "Beybars" after the two dominant emirs at Cairo. They levied blackmail on the villages, and called it taxes.¹³⁰² The mamlūks made short work of this revolt; the real Salār and Beybars led their troops respectively on the east and west of the Nile, Bektāsh went towards the Fayyūm, other emirs to Suez, whilst the governor of Kūs, with friendly Arabs, cut the desert routes. The various movements were executed with secrecy and rapidity, and the unhappy Bedawis were taken completely by surprise. From G'iza and Atfiḥ upwards the inhabitants were put to the sword, to the number of about 16,000 men, whose wives and children and property were seized. If a man claimed to be no Bedawī but a townsman, they bade him pronounce the word *dakik* (which no Egyptian can say), and as soon as they heard the true Arab guttural, they cut off his head. The shibboleth disposed of a multitude of evaders. The country-side became the scene of horrible massacres, and the corpses poisoned the air. The Bedawis fled to caves in the hills, but their enemies smoked them to death. Among the spoil were the goods of 1600 land-owners, 8000 oxen, 6000 sheep and goats, 4000 horses, and 32,000 camels. The supply was so abundant that a fat tup sold for a couple of shillings, a goat for nine-pence, a pound of butter for twopence. After looting the country the punitive expedition returned to Cairo, leaving behind them an empty land where no man was to be seen.

The Christian and Jewish population also suffered by irrational persecution. Recently they had enjoyed remarkable immunity, and had amassed great wealth.

They rode richly caparisoned horses or mules, wore sumptuous apparel, and held a number of valuable government offices. They waxed, indeed, so independent and (in Muslim eyes) so insolent, that an envoy from Morocco—where such tolerance was incredible—took upon himself to remonstrate with the emirs ; the kādis were summoned in council, and the result was a revival of the old sumptuary laws. The Christians throughout the empire were to adopt blue turbans, and the Jews yellow, and neither were permitted to ride horse or mule ; they must ride asses and yield the middle of the road to the Muslims ; must ring no bells, nor raise the voice, with sundry other humiliating restrictions. Many Christians who valued their appearance became Muslims. Some churches were demolished by the gratified mob at Alexandria and elsewhere, and all the churches in Egypt remained closed for the year. It was only at the request of the emperor of Constantinople that a few churches, such as the Mo'allaqa in the Ḫaṣr-es-Shema', St. Michael's and St. Nicholas's, were reopened. The "feast of the martyr," or annual Nile festival, a general carnival held on the river near Shubra, was abolished by Beybars, on account of the drinking and disorders that it entailed. The manners of the people had indeed reached an unusual degree of licence. The rejoicings after the triumphant return of the sultan from Syria were prolonged into a drunken and licentious revel. Unveiled women were seen in the company of men drinking wine unabashed on barges in the Ḫākimi canal, insomuch that pleasure boats were afterwards forbidden on its waters. The tremendous shock of Aug. 8 earthquake that followed gave them something else to think about. The oscillation, the cracking of walls, the fall of houses and mosques, caused a frantic panic. Women rushed into the streets unveiled, and gave birth to premature infants. Men saw their houses crumbling to the ground, and everything they possessed lost ; or, flying in amazement, left their homes to be rifled by thieves. The Nile threw its boats a bow-shot on the land. The population encamped outside the city,

trembling for the fall of the heavens and the end of the world. The earthquake was felt all through Egypt, and injured Alexandria as well as Kūṣ; Damascus and 'Akka experienced the shock. At Cairo the mosques of Hākim, el-Azhar, Sāliḥ b. Ruzzīk, and Ḳalā'ūn, and at Fusṭāt the old mosque of 'Amr, suffered much damage, and for a year and more the chief emirs, notably Salār and Beybars, expended large sums on their restoration. Cairo, after the earthquake, looked like a city that had been wrecked by a conquering army.

The wealth of the governing class was fortunately equal to the expense of mosque restoration. The nobles displayed a remarkable public or religious spirit in devoting large sums to this purpose, and besides restoring the ravages of the earthquake, the government completed (1304) and richly endowed the new college of the Nāṣirīya or collegiate mosque of en-Nāṣir (still standing in the Sūk-en-Nahāsin), the Gothic gateway of which had been

Fig. 64.—Arms of a polo-master.


brought from the cathedral of 'Akka during the demolition of the city by Khalil's orders. There was no lack of money in Egypt. When Bektimūr, the polo-master of the court, made the pilgrimage to Mekka in 1301, he spent 85,000 *D.* on the journey, largely in charitable gifts. The emir Beysari, the most honoured and popular of all the mamlūks, who had declined the throne after the death of Khalil, set no bounds to his extravagance, never drank twice out of the same cup—and his cups were doubtless of chased and inlaid silver, like his perfume-burner in the British Museum—lived in the most splendid palace that money could build, and prided himself on being perpetually £15,000 in debt. The rich fiefs of the mamlūk nobles, increased by sundry

emoluments and perquisites, enabled them to maintain a princely state, in spite of frequent dismissal, imprisonment, and confiscation. The luxury and artistic profusion of the times, the remarkable developments of literary and historical studies, and the honourable position of men of learning, form a strange contrast to the constant deeds of violence, the tumults, street fights, murders and atrocious tortures. Egypt was undoubtedly prosperous under this strangely compounded class of rulers. The taxes were heavy, but the Niles had been good, and the trade with Europe was immense ; a single ship entering Alexandria harbour is stated to have paid 40,000 *D.* in



Fig. 65.—Bowl of emir of en-Nāṣir in the British Museum.

customs, and the trade with India must have been equally important. Whatever passed through Egypt was dutiable, and a duty of ten per cent. on trade will account for a vast revenue.¹

¹ According to el-Kalkashandi, who died in 1418, but availed himself of the statistics of earlier writers, the principal source of revenue in Egypt, the land-tax, was paid either in kind (as usually in Upper Egypt) to the amount of from one to three ardebbs (of 5 bushels each) per acre, or in money (as in the delta). In 1370 this tax amounted to 40 dirhems (= 2 *D.*, or about a guinea) on the best land (*ħāk*), and 30 on land (*barrāb*) exhausted by wheat crops, etc. ; but it was raised in later times. If the crops failed or were poor the tax was

The sultan himself received nothing of all this. He was kept in straitened circumstances by his overbearing ministers, and when Salâr and Beybars fell out and quarrelled over the prey, he found his position yet more intolerable. Once he tried to have them murdered, but the plot was divulged, and matters became worse. The people indeed were on his side, and the rumour of a design against his life roused them to a dangerous pitch of excitement; the feeling of loyalty to the house of Kalâ'ûn had become part of their character. But the conduct of the emirs made Nâsir's rule impossible, and

reduced in proportion. The towns of Egypt (meaning apparently the districts) were assigned either to the government or to the emirs and army, except a very small proportion assigned to mosques, schools, etc. (A) The government received (1) for the wezir's exchequer, the taxes from the land of G'îza and Manfalût, in money and kind, together with the clover for the royal and military stables; (2) for the sultan's privy purse (*dîvâ'n-el-khâss*), one-fifth of the revenue from Alexandria and its district. (B) The emirs, mamlûks, and army were assigned (1) the land-tax of the remaining towns and districts, varying according to the inundations and prices, and distributed among the recipients according to their rank; (2) the receipts from (a) the emerald mines, which were, however, abandoned as unprofitable in the last year of Nâsir's reign; (b) the alum quarries of Upper Egypt and the Oases, whence the alum was brought to Kûş or Asyût, and shipped down the Nile to Alexandria, and sold, to Greeks chiefly, at 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ *D.* the quintal (*kintâr*, 100 lb.), of which the government (i.e. the emirs and army) used to take a third, but the system was changed c. 1400; (c) the natron mines of Tarâbiya (near Behnesa), worked since Ibn-Tûlûn's days, 100 acres which yielded 100,000 *D.* a year, and in the Fâkûs district; the alum, being a monopoly, rose to 300 dirhems the *kintâr*, and the sultan took one-third, chiefly for the soldiers' pay; (3) the legal alms, which (though usually distributed by the almsgiver himself) were levied by government on the net profits of merchants importing at Alexandria, and from cattle-dealers from Barkâ; (4) the tribute from protected subjects (i.e. Jews and Christians), amounting to 10 to 25 dirhems per head on their population, according to classes—this tax was used for judicial and religious salaries; (5) import duties on goods brought by foreigners to Alexandria or Damietta, who paid one-tenth; if re-sold in Egypt, one-fifth more was exacted, so that goods sometimes paid as much as thirty-five per cent. on their value; (6) inheritance of persons without heirs; (7) profit of coinage, then very debased. Besides these there were the customs at the ports of 'Aydhâb, Koseyr, Tôr, and Suez, on the Red Sea, amounting to one-tenth of the value; and also on the Syrian caravans. Cp. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten*, 155 ff.

one day he rode away to Karak, on the pretext or a pilgrimage, and once within the strong castle he announced his abdication. Remonstrances, sincere or not, were vain ; he was resolved upon a quiet life, and the emirs had to choose a successor.

Beybars the Gāshnegir, as Master of the Household (*Ustdār*), had gradually acquired the chief influence. Salār was indeed viceroy, but Beybars was supported by the whole body of the Burgīs or citadel mamlūks, and their power was not to be resisted. They had long been planning to raise him to the throne, and the resignation of Nāṣir fitted their intentions. El-Melik el-Muzaffar Rukn-ed-din Beybars (II.) el-Mansūri¹ accordingly became sultan. His brief reign was an unmitigated failure. He never had the support of the people, and a succession of low Niles and the resulting scarcity were ignorantly connected in some manner with his mismanagement. A large number of the mamlūk emirs belonged to the party of Salār, who, although he accepted the office of viceroy, secretly worked against his former colleague. The ex-sultan at Karak was not idle in the meantime. He had retired for repose, he said, but his proceedings showed that he had merely withdrawn from the control of his Egyptian emirs in order to organize a loyal party in Syria. In face of these preparations and signals of revolution all that Beybars did was to make Suleymān el-Mustekfī proclaim his accession anew. But no one respected the fainéant "Commander of the Faithful"; the emir Burlughī, a supporter of Beybars, laughed, "Suleymān was the Commander of the Wind"; the people, when they heard the name of Nāṣir in the proclamation, shouted "God save him," and when the name of Beybars was read they called out, "We do not want him." The news came that Nāṣir had entered Damascus, and had received the homage of the emirs of Syria, of Aleppo, Hamāh, Hims, Tripolis, Safed, Jerusalem; that his advanced guard had reached Gaza, and driven back the Egyptian outposts. Beybars had no

¹ A few small copper coins of Beybars II bear the dates 708, 709, parts of which years correspond to 1309.

counter plan, and could command no efficient support. He took the only prudent course, and sent his abdication and submission to the advancing sultan. Nāṣir accepted, pardoned, and offered him the government of Saḥyūn. But meanwhile his fears had so worked upon Beybars that he had fled from Cairo with his mamlūk guard (who soon deserted him), vacillated between several plans of escape, and was finally made a prisoner at Gaza.

¹³¹⁰
^{Mar. 5} Nāṣir began his third reign,¹ entering Cairo on 5 March, 1310, after eleven months' retirement. Whatever kindly virtues he may have possessed in his youth had been soured and embittered by his unhappy experience. Though only in his twenty-fifth year, he was already a cynic, a double-dealer, and thirsty to revenge the miseries of his boyhood and youth, and to free himself finally from the interference of the powerful emirs. He managed it by trickery and deceit. Bey bars, though apparently received into favour, and appointed to a government, was invited to Cairo, and there bow-strung. Nāṣir could not forgive him, among other painful recollections, for having refused him roast goose when he asked for it in his years of humiliation. Salār soon followed his rival: he had aided Nāṣir's restoration and welcomed him handsomely with costly gifts, and in reward was given the small command of Shawbek. Recalled to the capital, he was cast into prison and starved to death. After eight days of hunger, three covered dishes were sent to him by the sultan. The covers were raised, and they proved to be, the first a dish of gold money, the second of silver, and the third of precious stones and pearls. "Praise to God," he said, "who deals me out my chastisement in this life." On the twelfth day he was found dead, with a gnawed-off finger in his mouth. His vast wealth was confiscated to the state, and the income of his estates and properties were reckoned at 1000 *D.* a day. A contemporary historian, who saw the inventory of his effects, stated that the examination of his goods occupied

¹ Coins of Nāṣir's third reign bear the dates, Cairo, 710, 716, 733, 741 (1310-40); Aleppo, 710, 733; Damascus, 733, 735^b; Tripolis, 717.

four days, and that they found over half a million of dinārs or their value in dirhems, besides chests of precious stones and pearls, silver vessels, dresses, horses, dromedaries, herds of cattle and sheep, and multitudes of slaves. One by one the older emirs who had fought the wars of his father, and had dominated the son in his earlier reigns, were inveigled, betrayed, imprisoned, and executed. Nāṣir had learnt his lesson : he resolved to rule alone, and he had no scruples in "cutting off the tall poppies."

His foreign policy followed the precedents of his father Kalā'ūn and Beybars I, except that altered conditions made him eager to draw closer to the Mongols of Persia.



Fig. 66.—Inscription in medresa of princess Tatar el-Higāziya at Cairo, 1360.

He had request relations with the Ilkhān Abū-Sa'īd, with whom he concluded a friendly treaty in 1333, and on the break-up of the Ilkhānate on Abū-Sa'īd's death, he carried on various negotiations with the candidates for power, and his support was so desired that Sheykh Hasan Buzurg, one of the most powerful of the contending leaders, went so far as to acknowledge Nāṣir's suzerainty in prayers and coinage at Baghdād (1341) in return for the promise of armed assistance, which never

came. Nevertheless, the old friendship with the rival Mongol state, the Golden Horde of Sarai on the Volga, was maintained and renewed, though the dealings with Persia caused some uneasiness to Uzbeg Khan, and Nasir's proposal to marry the khan's daughter fell through by reason of the extravagance of the dowry demanded from Egypt. A cheaper bride, however, was¹³¹⁹ found in a kinswoman of the khan, the lady Tulbiya, whose mausoleum in the eastern Karafa still bears witness to the alliance, and who is, perhaps, the only princess of the Saracens who has been celebrated by a western poet :—

Mira al Cayro que incluye tres ciudades
E el palacio real de Dultibea,
Las torres, los jardines e heredades
Que su espacioso circulo rodea.¹

There were, as heretofore, many little wars with the Cilician kingdom. At Mekka the ruling sherifs were appointed by Egypt, and supported by troops, not without conflicts, and in 1317 Nasir's authority was also recognized at Medina. The sultan himself thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka with the usual extravagant display of charity. Yemen, independent under the Rasulid kings, had from time to time sent presents to Cairo, which the sultans were anxious to recognize as tribute, but although an expedition of 5000 Egyptian troops was sent in 1325 at the request of a Rasulid, whose succession was disputed, it ended in disaster, and southern Arabia was in no sense under the authority of Nasir. Nubia, under the usurper Kenz-ed-dawla, was equally independent at that time.² On the other hand, to the west, the khutba was said in the sultan's name at Tripolis and Tunis (1311-17) by the Hafsid king Abū-Zekeryā Yahyā, whom Nasir had helped to the throne.

¹ Araucana, canto 28.

² The tribe of Kenz had been a thorn in the side of Egypt from the time of Saladin, and there were frequent conflicts with them in the 14th century; they attacked Aswan in 1366, 1385, about 1390, 1396; and after 1403 the district of Aswan ceased for a time to be under Egyptian authority.

Most of these cases of apparent vassalage were due to Egyptian succour during a period of civil war and a disputed succession, and they testify rather to the military efficiency of the mamlūk army than to any permanent extension of the sultan's authority. Egypt had become a factor to be reckoned with whenever complications arose among her neighbours, but she did not expand beyond her normal frontiers, which had long been laid at the Syrian desert, the Euphrates and the



Fig. 67.—Tower in Citadel of Cairo.

Pyramus in the east and north, Sawākin and Aswān in the south, and Tripolis in the west. Nāṣir himself was ambitious of empire, but he was no general, and feared to arm a possible rival with the command of a large army. He was forced indeed to suppress a revolt of the Druzes and Nuṣeyrīs by force, and to wage war with Little Armenia ; but he trusted rather to diplomacy to

extend his influence. His negotiations in the north procured him the adhesion of Artina of Asia Minor and the chief of Dhū-l-Kadr. "He continually exchanged embassies with the Mongols of Kipchak, as well as those of Persia, with the kings of the Yemen and Abyssinia, and West Africa, with the emperors of Constantinople and the kings of Bulgaria. Even the sultan of India sent envoys to his court. The missions of the Byzantine emperors, often repeated [e.g. 1317, 1326] were apparently designed to negotiate an alliance with Nāṣir against the Turkomans, who were growing constantly stronger about this time in Asia Minor, and already threatened the East Roman empire. The sultan of Hindustan, who sent an embassy to Nāṣir in 1331-2 in the way of Baghdād, was Muḥammad ibn Tughlak, who was meditating the conquest of eastern Persia, and probably wished to engage Nāṣir in a simultaneous attack on the Mongol kingdom in western Persia. In 1327 an envoy from the pope arrived to urge him to treat his Christian subjects humanely, promising in return to protect, as far as possible, Muhammadan subjects living in Christendom from annoyance. Philip VI of France sent an embassy in 1330 . . . demanding that Nāṣir should deliver Jerusalem and part of the coast of Palestine to the Christians ; it was naturally dismissed with scorn."¹

The Christians were better used under Nāṣir's than before, and the sultan endeavoured to reverse the humiliating decree of 1301, as far as he could, without exciting the wrath of the theologians or fanatical fakīhs. He protected the churches from destruction, and refused to believe that every fire or other calamity must be due to Christian conspiracy, as the bigoted Muslims said. But fanaticism was too strong for him ; 20,000 men assembled on the meydān and clamoured : "The only true religion is Islām ; God shield the faith of Muḥammad ! O sultan of Islām, protect us, not the misbelieving Christians !" Nāṣir

¹ Weil, iv. 352-4.

surrendered to public opinion, and the former decree was enforced again on pain of death. The Christians closed their churches, and dared not show themselves, unless in disguise.¹ They had undoubtedly burnt many mosques and houses, and in revenge the Muslims demolished scores of their churches and monasteries.

Still the sultan used his influence in their favour, whenever there was an opportunity, and his wezirs, several of whom were Christians who had become nominally Muslims, exerted themselves for their old associates, whilst they bled the Mohammadan subjects as far as taxation could go. Nāṣir employed Christians, i.e. Copts, as all Egyptian governments have em-

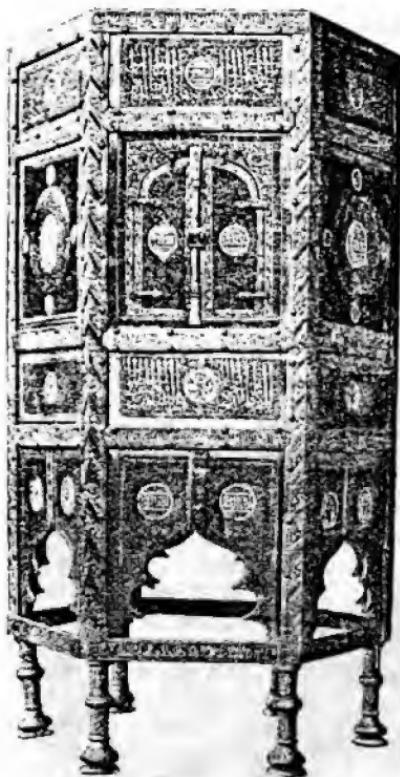


Fig. 68.—Kursi of en-Nāṣir, 14th century, in the Cairo Museum.

ployed them, because they were better men of business

¹ The best account of the state of the Christians under the mamlük sultans—merely incidental to the present work—is in Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, ii. 220-66. The émeute of 1321 alone occupies twenty-four pages, and it is impossible to give the details in a brief space.

than the Muslims, and also because they were dangerous to his throne, as were the great Muslim officers, against whom he was perpetually on his guard, and whom he used with cruel severity.

On the other hand, his humbler servants and officials and the bulk of the people of Egypt were well off under his rule. Many oppressive taxes—on salt, for example, on chickens, on sugar-cane, on boats and their passengers, on slaves, horses, etc.—were repealed, and the loss made up by mulcting the great nobles. He ordered a new survey of the land and its revenues, and out of twenty-four divisions of the country, he assigned ten to the state and the other fourteen to the emirs and amirs according to rank. He combatted the extravagance of prices which prevailed in times of scarcity, and millers and bakers flogged who charged too highly; imported corn from Syria and fixed its market price, compelled the emirs to open their granaries to public sale, instead of selling their corn privately at exorbitant rates.

¹³³⁶ His muhtesib or inspector of markets, Diyādūn Yūsuf, an upright and fearless man, reported evasions to the sultan, who publicly rated the great eunuch Kawsūn, his own son-in-law, struck him over the head with the flat of his sword, and had the emir's face flogged in his presence. These vigorous measures had their effect, and a moderate price for corn prevailed. Nāṣir was strict in suppressing wine-drinking and every sort of immorality, and his punishments were barbarous and primitive as his methods of confiscation were sweeping and illegal. Sometimes, indeed, judges found it necessary to remonstrate with his high-handed proceedings, and they were sure of a hearing. Learned men found an appreciative patron in the calculating sultan, whose intellect was of no mean order. The learned historian Abū-l-Fidā, a prince descended from Saladin's brother, was his intimate friend. Nāṣir restored him (1310) to his ancestors' principedom of Hamāh, revived the ancient titles and privileges of the family, took him with him on pilgrimage to Mecca, and made the Syrian governors treat him as a sul-

himself addressed him as "brother," and continued to love and honour him till his death (1331). The age was rich in learned men, and they enjoyed every mark of respect and not inconsiderable emoluments under Nāṣir's rule.

It was an age of extraordinary brilliance in almost every aspect. In spite of the occasional record of



Fig. 69.—Mosque of Sengar and Salār, 1323.

scarcity and high prices, the wealth of the country, whether from its fertile soil, or from the ever-increasing trade with Europe and the east, was immense, if the fortunes of individuals are any test. The accounts of the almost fabulous prodigality of the emirs of the time in

the Arabic chronicles show their vast resources, and the thirty or more magnificent mosques built by Nāṣir's emirs—such as Sengār el-Gāwali, Kawṣūn, el-Māridānī, Aksunkur, Sheykhū, to name but a few whose monuments are still standing, are proof that they sometimes spent their wealth to good purpose.¹ The architecture of this period is perhaps the finest in the history of Saracenic art in Egypt. The minor arts were never cultivated in greater perfection. Beautiful bowls, perfume-bearers, caskets, Korān-cases, and *kursīs* or small tables, were made of bronze or brass, often cut out à jour, and inlaid with admirably chased designs in silver. Enamelled glass lamps, illuminated Korāns, carved wooden panels, painted ceilings, and every kind of decoration, were worked at this period in greater perfection than ever before or since. When a beautiful example of the finest Saracenic art is preserved in our museums, we are almost sure to find in its inscription the words *el-Meleki en-Nāṣirī*, "the (mamlük) of el Melik en-Nāṣir."



Fig. 70.—Arms of emir el-Māridānī, 14th century, from a glass lamp.

hāsin (corresponding to part of the old Beyn-el-Kasreyn), built in 1299-1304, and his mosque (1318) in the Citadel of Cairo, are among the most notable of Saracenic

¹ Ibn-Batūṭa, who visited Cairo in 1326, writes of the emulation of the emirs in building mosques, chapels, and especially mentions their monasteries (*khānakāh*—such as that of Beybars II, still standing), where fakirs, chiefly Persian *śūfis*, lived in retreat under strict rules. Separate monasteries, he says, were allowed to married devotees. He describes Nāṣir as "of noble character and great virtues," refers to his benevo-

monuments. His exquisite palace in the Citadel, the *Kasr el-Ablak*, or Striped Palace, so called from its tiers of black and white stone, which cost 500,000,000 dirhems (founded 1313) has unhappily disappeared; the "Hall of Columns" was standing early in this century. The Citadel, indeed, was largely reconstructed in 1312 and following years, and a number of new buildings

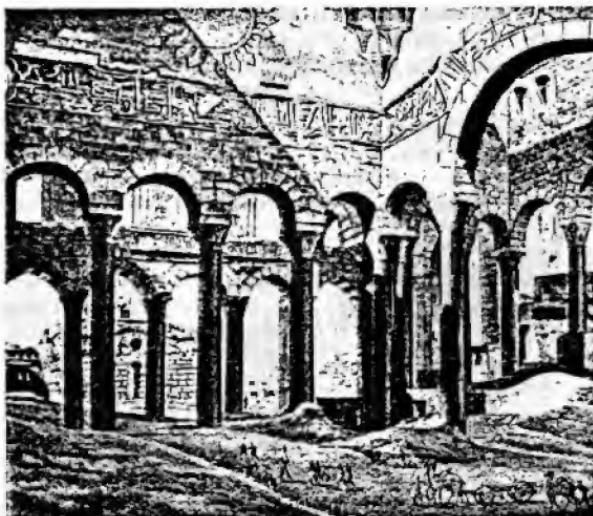


Fig. 71.—Hall of Columns built by en-Nāṣir in Citadel of Cairo, 1313.

added.¹ He was reckoned to spend at one time 8000 dirhems (about £300) a day on building. Among the

lence to pilgrims, and his sitting twice a week to hear personally all complaints and petitions; and gives a short list of the chief emirs and men of learning. His account is lamentably meagre, and instead of valuable statistics he informs us that there were said to be 12,000 water-carriers on camels, 30,000 bait-masters, and 36,000 boats on the Nile. (Ed. Desfémery et Sanguinetti, i. 67 ff.)

¹ See Casanova in *Mém. de la miss. archéol. française*, vi. 619-665.

public works of his reign was the Alexandrian canal, which connected the port with the Nile at Fūwa, and contributed greatly to the commerce and fertility of the country, and to the revival of the neglected Greek capital. The great causeway he constructed beside the Nile served at once as a road and a dam during the inundation. The aqueduct from the Nile to the Citadel of Cairo was the work of this sultan (1311), though popularly ascribed to Saladin. To carry out his schemes, and indulge his tastes, he needed immense revenues, and the money was not lacking. He married

eleven of his daughters to leading emirs, and each wedding cost him 800,000*D.*: the music alone came to 10,000*D.* for each *fête*. He was a judge of horses, and would give as much as a million dirhems (£4000) for a fine animal. He kept of course a proper stud book, and knew the name, age, price, and pedigree of every horse. Three thousand fillies annually foaled in his stables were broken in by Bedawis, to be given to the emirs or entered for races, for which he was an ardent trainer. Nāṣir was a farmer,

Fig. 72.—Arms of emir Tukur-demir, from a lamp in the British Museum, 14th century.

too, and would import sheep of good breeds for his flock of 30,000 kept in the Citadel. He was a sportsman, devoted to falconry, and his huntsmen, falconers, and gamekeepers held no unimportant rank in his court, and received handsome vales. He was also a collector of precious stones, but this was the ordinary mode of amassing portable and easily negotiable capital. Whilst encouraging luxury and profusion in his court, he wore no jewels himself and dressed in the simplest and least expensive way. This self-possessed, iron-willed



man,—absolutely despotic, ruling alone—physically insignificant, small of stature, lame of a foot, and with a cataract in the eye,—with his plain dress and strict morals, his keen intellect and unwearyed energy, his enlightened tastes and interests, his shrewd diplomacy degenerating into fruitless deceit, his unsleeping suspicion and cruel vengefulness, his superb court, his magnificent buildings,—is one of the most remarkable characters of the Middle Ages. His reign was certainly the climax of Egyptian culture and civilization.¹

Unhappily when he died, confessing his sins, in 1341, ^{June 6} at the age of nearly fifty-eight, he left no successor capable of carrying on his work. The confidence of the people in his firm government, and their apprehensions of what would follow, was shown in the panic with which, at the bare rumour of his decease, they closed their

shops and laid in provisions for the time of need. His emirs gathered round his bed, and declared solemnly that “they were the mamlūks of his house, and so long as even a



Fig. 73.—Dinār of en-Nāṣir, Cairo, 1340.

blind daughter of it remained they would support it to the death.” For forty-one years, indeed, twelve descendants² of Nāṣir rapidly succeeded to the throne, but

¹ The best European account of Nāṣir’s reign is in the careful *Geschichte der Chalifen*, by Weil, founded upon Maqrizi, Abū-l-Mahāsin, and most of the available Arabic sources. It has been epitomized, unfortunately with many errors, by Sir W. Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*.

² Of these successors, the coins are as follows:—eş-Şūlīḥ Ismā‘il, Cairo, 7[4]4, Damascus, 743, 744. Ḥamāh, 746, Aleppo, no date; el-Kāmil Sha'bān, Cairo, 747, Damascus, 746; el-Muẓaffar Ḥaggī, Cairo, 747, Damascus, 747 (Dhū-l-Higga); en-Nāṣir Ḥasan (first reign), Cairo, 748, 749, 750, 752, Damascus, 749, 750; eş-Şāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, Cairo, 752, 753, 754, Damascus, 756; Ḥasan (second reign),

they cannot be said to have ruled. Eight sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons followed one another. Some were mere children, some held the title of sultan for a few months, one son, Hasan, was kept on the throne for four years, and was restored for six years more; one grandson, Sha'bān, even retained the title of sultan for fourteen years. But when they were not helpless children they were commonly helpless debauchees, and the real power was in the hands of the great emirs, of whom Kūsūn (or Kawṣūn, a Mongol follower of Nāṣir's Kipchak bride), Tāshṭemir, Aksunkur, Sheykhū, Yelbughā and Ṣarqhit mish, were the



Fig. 74.—Dinar of sultan Hasan, Cairo, 1349.

most prominent. The court remained as luxurious and extravagant as ever, the emirs continued to amass wealth and to build exquisite mosques and palaces, and the prestige of Egypt still held the respect of foreign powers. But the contests of the emirs and the anarchy that ensued brought the empire to financial straits, and the pilgrimage to Mekka was more than once abandoned for lack of state funds; though money seems never to have been lacking for the singers and slave girls of the palace. Sheykhū endeavoured spasmodically to stem the tide of dissolution, reduced expenses, allowed the sultan Hasan only £4 a day, repressed the Bedawi brigands who infested the Nile valley; but the visitation of the plague in

Cairo, 754, 756, 757, [75]8, 759, 760, 761, Alexandria, 756, [75]9, Damascus, 758, 760, 761, 762; el-Mansūr Mohammad, Cairo, 761, 762, 763, 764, Damascus, 763; el-Ashraf Sha'bān, Cairo, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 773, 774, 776, Alexandria, 766, 777, Damascus, 766, 771, 773, 774, 777, Aleppo, Hamāh, Tripolis, without legible dates; el-Manṣūr 'Ali, Cairo, 779, 781, Damascus, 778, 780, 781, 782, Aleppo, 778; es-Sāliḥ Hāggī, Damascus, Aleppo, without dates; Dainascus, 792, with title el-Manṣūr.

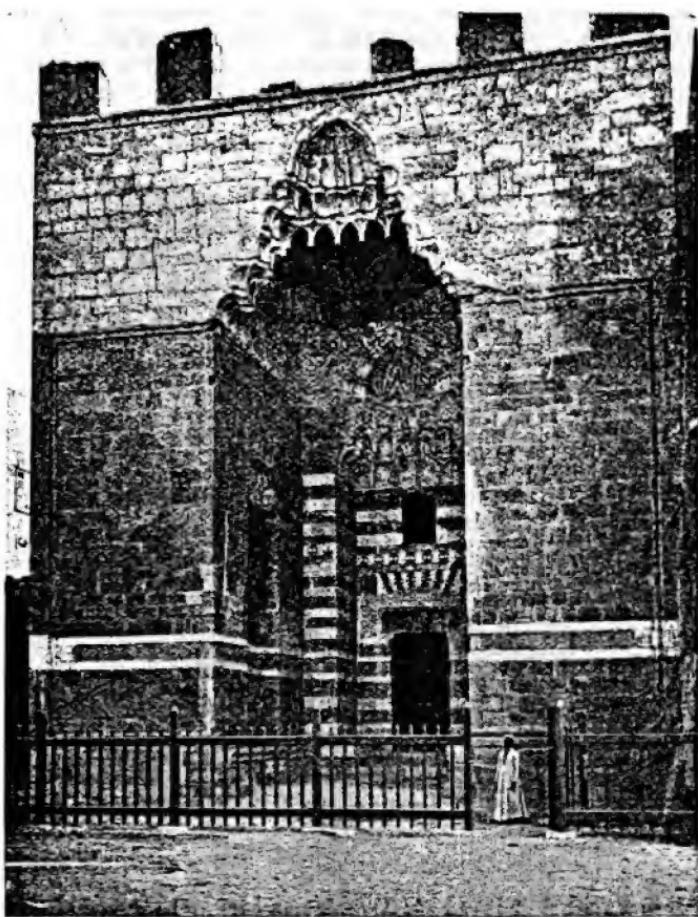


Fig. 75.—Palace of emir Yeshbek at Cairo, 1476, adjoining mosque of sultan Hasan

seize the throne, as Beybars and Kalā'ün had seized it a century ago. The man appeared in Barkük, who after disposing of one after the other of his competitors, de-throned the last of Kalā'ün's house in 1382, and founded the dynasty of the Burgí or Circassian sultans. The only wonder was that so feeble a line as Nāṣir's descendants should have survived so long in so stormy a world.

CHAPTER XI

THE CIRCASSIAN MAMLUKS

1382—1517

Authorities.—El-Makrizi, Abū-l-Nahāsin, Ibn-Iyās, el-Kalkashandi; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v.; von Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, ii. *Monuments in Egypt.*—Tomb of Anas, father of Barkūk, 1382; Medresa of emir Aytmiss, 1383; Medr. Barkūk, 1386; Medr. em. İnāl-el-Yūsufī, 1392; Medr. em. Muķibl, 1395; Medr. em. Südūn, 1402; Medr. Gemāl-ed-dīn, 1408; Khānakāh and tombs of Farag and Barkūk, 1401-11; Medr. Faraḡ; Medr. em. ‘Alād-el-Ghani, 1418; Mu’ayyad, Māristān, 1418, and M., 1420; Medr. Kādi ‘Abd-el-Bāsīt, 1420; Bars-Bey, Medr., 1424, Khānakāh and T., 1432, M. at el-Khānakāh, 1437; M. em. Gāni-Bek, 1427; Medr. em. Feyrūz, 1427; Medr. em. Taghri-Berdi, 1440; M. em. Kāni-Bey, 1441; M. and T. Kādi Yahyā, 1444, 1446; M. Gākmak, 1449; Medr., Khānakāh, and T. İnāl, 1451-6; T. em. Gāni-Bek, 1465; M. em. Südūn, c. 1466; Medr. em. Kānim, c. 1466; M. em. Timrāz, 1472; M. em. Uzbek (Ezbek), 1475; Palace em. Yeshbek, 1476; Kāit-Bey, Medr. and T., 1474; Medr. *intrā muros*, 1475, Wekāla near Azhar, 1477, restor. of bridge of G’iza, 1479, castle (Burg-ez-Zafar), on site of old pharos at Alexandria, 1479, Sebil, 1479, Wekāla near Eāb-en-Naṣr, 1480, Wekāla in Sūriyya, c. 1480, T. el-Fadawiyā, c. 1481, Palace, 1485, Mekān, 1485, restor. of southern gates, 1485, Medr. at Rōda, 1491; Medr. em. Ghānim, 1478; Medr. Kādi Abū-Bekr b. Muzhir, 1480; M. em. Kiġmās, 1481; Medr. em. Uzbek (Ezbek) el-Yūsufī, 1495; Palace of em. Māmāy (Beyt-el-Kādi), 1496; T. ez-Zāhir Kānsūh, 1499; M. princess Asāl-Bey, wife of Kāit-Bey, in Fayyūm, 1499; T. el-‘Adil Tūmān-Bey, 1501; M. em. Kheyṛ-Bek, 1502; Medr. Kāni Bek emir Akhōr, 1503;—Kānsūh el-Ghūrī, Medr. 1503, T. 1504, restor. of aqueduct to Citadel, c. 1506, M. near Citadel, 1510, Gates of Khān-el-Khalili—Tombs of Tarā-Bey, Rezmek, Südūn, 1504-5; Medr. Kāni-Bek Kāra, 1506.

Inscriptions in Egypt.—On monuments enumerated above; solar quadrant in M. Kawṣūn, 1383; decree of Kāntemir in T. Kalā‘ūn, 1389; inscr. Barkūk in Citadel, 1389; ‘Abd-el-Aziz in T. of Farag, 1405, 1406; waqf act in Medr. Bars-Bey, 1424, and Khānakāh, 1431; tablet of Sebil of Bars-Bey in Schefer collection, 1433; Gākmak in Fayyūm, 1441, in Citadel, 1448, and in Medr. Barkūk; sultan Hasan in M. Mu’ayyad; solar quadrant in Medr. İnāl, 1466; epitaph of princess Shakrā, daughter of Farag, in his tomb, 1482; inscr. of Kāit-Bey in

BURGI DYNASTY

same, 1483, and in Azhar, 1469, 1495; Tūmān-Bey in Citadel, 1501; el-Ghūrī on castle of Kāit-Bey at Alexandria, 1501, in Azhar. (M. van Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, iii., proof sheets).

Inscriptions in Syria.—Barkūk in Kubbat-es-Şakhra and on a khān at Jerusalem, on great mosques of Gaza and Ba'albekk, acropolis of Ba'albekk, citadel of Aleppo; Mu'ayyad, in mosque at Gaza, on wall and hospital of Aleppo, portico of gr. M. at Damascus and his own M.; Ahmad, decree in haram, Jersulem; Bars-Bey, decrees in Kubbat-es-Şakhra, Jerusalem, in gr. M. of Damascus and Tripolis, and on castle of Sheyzar, and inscr. on bridge at Sheyzar; G'akmaķ, inscr. in his medr. at Damascus, decrees on Armenian convent, Jerusalem, in the haram, and in gr. M. of Damascus; İnal, decrees in the gr. M. of Damascus, Tripolis, and Ba'albekk; Khūshkadam, on citadel of Damascus; Kāit-Bey, numerous inscr. and decrees at Jerusalem and in gr. M. of Damascus, Tripolis, Ba'albekk, Hamāh, and several inscr. on citadel of Aleppo; Mohammad b. Kāit-Bey, inscr. on citadel of Damascus and in gr. M. of Gaza; el-'Ādil Tūmān-Bey, several decrees at Damascus (MSS. notes of M. van Berchem).

Coins (see under reigns), armorial bearings, enamelled glass lamps, bowls and other vessels, etc.

BURGĪ MAMLŪKS.

Ez-Zāhir Seyf-ed-din Barkūk	Nov., 1382
[Interrupted by el-Manṣūr Ḥāggī June 1389—Feb. 1390]	
En-Nāṣir Nāṣir-ed-din Farāq b. Barkūk	June, 1399
El-Manṣūr 'Izz-ed-din 'Abd-el-'Azīz b. Barkūk	Sept., 1405
En-Nāṣir Farāq (again)	Dec., 1405
El-'Ādil el-Musta'in ('Abbāsid caliph)	May, 1412
El-Mu'ayyad Sheykh	Nov., 1412
El-Muẓaffar Ahmad b. Sheykh	Jan., 1421
Ez-Zāhir Seyf-ed-din Taṭar	Aug., 1421
Es-Šāliḥ Nāṣir-ed-din Mohammad b. Taṭar	Nov., 1421
El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din Bars-Bey	April, 1422
El-'Azīz G'emāl-ed-din Yūsuf b. Bars-Bey	June, 1438
Ez-Zāhir Seyf-ed-din G'akmaķ	Sept., 1438
El-Manṣūr Fakhr-ed-din 'Othmān b. G'akmaķ	Feb., 1453
El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din İnal	Mar., 1453
El-Mu'ayyad Shihāb-ed-din Ahmad b. İnal	Feb., 1461
Ez-Zāhir Seyf-ed-din Khūshkadam	June, 1461
Ez-Zāhir Seyf-ed-din Yel-Bey	Oct., 1467
Ez-Zāhir Timürbughā	Dec., 1467
El-Ashraf Seyf-ed-din Kāit-Bey	Jan., 1468
En-Nāṣir Mohammad b. Kāit-Bey	Aug., 1496
Ez-Zāhir Kānsūh	Oct., 1498
El-Ashraf G'ānbalāt	June, 1500
El-'Ādil Tūmān-Bey	Jan., 1501
El-Ashraf Kānsūh-el-Ghūrī	April, 1501
El-Ashraf Tūmān-Bey	Oct., 1516
	—Jan., 1517

THE second dynasty of mamlük sultans differed from the first chiefly in race and in the absence of any hereditary succession such as was gradually established in the earlier dynasty, in the family of Kalā'un. The Burgī sultans were all Circassians by race, save two (Khūshkadam and Timūrbughā) who were of Greek origin; and none of them was able to establish the hereditary principle in his family. They were in fact rather head-mamlüks or chief emirs than kings in the absolute sense understood in the east. The Circassian sultan was but *primus inter pares*, elected by his fellow mamlüks, and depending for the tenure of his power upon his skill in managing the military oligarchy which was the real authority of the kingdom. His success or failure was in proportion to his tact or diplomacy, and still more to his liberality, and to the divisions among the several factions of the mamlüks. Each sultan's followers, after his death, formed a distinct party, known by his regnal title (as Ashrafis, Nāṣiris, Mu'ayyadis, Zāhiris), and animated by a strong *esprit de corps* and a determination to win and keep as much power and wealth as possible. By manoeuvring with these parties, forming coalitions or fostering jealousies, by intrigues and bribes, an emir would contrive to be elected sultan; but when on the throne, he found himself little better than a delegate of his insubordinate electors, over whom he seldom maintained much discipline. If he held the throne till his death, his son usually succeeded him for a few months, less in deference to any hereditary tradition referring to earlier times, than for the purpose of acting as a buffer between the ambitions of rival emirs. The son kept the throne warm, whilst the leading nobles fought for the succession; and when the best man won, the "warming-pan" was put away. As a rule he was either placed in honourable confinement, or even allowed to live freely and openly in some Egyptian city, and was seldom put to death in the old fashion. Of the twenty-three sultans of this dynasty, the reigns of six cover 103 out of the total 134 years, and the reigns of nine—Barkūk, Faraḡ, Sheykh, Bars-Bey, G'aḳmaḳ, İnāl, Khūshkadam, Kāit-

Bey, and Kānsūh el-Ghūri, amount to 125 years, leaving but nine years for the other fourteen sultans.

It is with these nine sultans that history has chiefly to do : the rest were ciphers, but the nine were all remarkable men, as indeed their success in winning and keeping their power for eight, sixteen, or even twenty-six years implies. It needed no ordinary abilities to hold even a partial authority over rival emirs and seditious mamlūks for any length of time. Their abilities, however, were seldom those of the warrior-king. They often fought their way to the throne over the corpses of rivals, but once there they seldom led their armies in the field, and Farāg was perhaps the only Circassian sultan who was conspicuously a general. Several of them—as Barķūk, Sheykh, Gākmaş, Kāit-Bey, besides the short-reigned Tātar and Timūrbughā—were much attached to literature and the society of the learned ; they were strict, sometimes even austere, Muslims, and many of their pious foundations, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and schools, still bear eloquent witness to their aesthetic refinement. Perhaps the costly elaboration of such exquisite architectural gems as the mosques of Barķūk and Kāit-Bey were intended to atone for the many acts of barbarity and oppression of which the Circassian sultans were commonly guilty. Barķūk caused his rival, Mintāsh, to be “put to the question” in order to make him reveal his hidden treasure : the wretched emir’s limbs were broken one after the other, he was tried by fire, tortured with infernal ingenuity, but all in vain ; at last he was put out of his agony, and his head was displayed on a lance through the towns of Syria and exposed at the gate of Zawila at Cairo. Other conspirators were nailed to camel saddles and paraded through the streets till they died. For such deeds Barķūk’s lovely medresa and noble mausoleum were all too small an atonement. His savage cruelty was emulated by his successors.

Egypt indeed suffered grievously under their sway. The perpetual conflicts of the divided factions of mamlūks, the street fights, the unbridled license of the

dominant soldiery, produced a reign of terror. The mamlüks had, of course, no bowels for the afflicted populace. They were all foreigners, though not necessarily Circassians, for Barkük, after a conspiracy among his Circassian followers, recruited his mamlüks from Greek, Turkish, and Mongolian slaves. The multitude of these mercenary pests may be judged from the fact that Barkük himself purchased 5000; and when a revolt of Bedawis and peasants in Upper and Lower Egypt was repressed by 7000 mamlüks riding over the country, the horrors of the process may be left to the imagination.

So debauched were the soldiery that even under Bars-Bey, the strongest of the Circassian sultans, it was impossible to allow women to appear in the streets, wedding processions were prohibited, and women who tried to go forth to attend funerals or visit the tombs of their dead were driven back by force. The peasants often dared not bring their country produce and cattle to the Cairo markets, lest it should be seized by the mamlüks, or taken by the government at a compulsory rate to supply the palace, which in Bars-Bey's time required 1200 lb. of meat a day. The government was corrupt and ineffectual, justice was awarded to the highest bidder. In the reign of el-Mu'ayyad, the very Sheykh-el-Isläm, the head of the law, stole trust-money: he was a Persian from Herât, and could not speak Arabic; his ignorance was exposed in a public disputation in Mu'ayyad's mosque, and he was dismissed. In Alexandria about the same time the fisher-folk took the law into their own hands against their oppressors; they shaved one side of the deputy governor's face, like the men of Jericho, paraded him through the streets on a camel, escorted by singers and musicians, and then killed him. They made the governor himself stand naked before a judge, and beat him to death. But such successful execution of lynch-law was rare, and as a rule the people were forced to suffer without redress or vengeance. The country was frequently in revolt, especially where the Bedawi tribes were settled, and when the oppressive taxation and conscription for the wars, and the general anarchy and

insecurity of life and property, often aggravated by plague and famine, drove the people to desperation ; but the rebellions only led to worse suffering, cruel reprisals, and a bloody stamping out of sedition by the implacable mamlūks. In the time of Faraḡ the population was said to be reduced to one-third of its normal number.

The sultans were really powerless to restrain their own guards. Some of the worst excesses referred to occurred under Mu'ayyad Sheykh, who was personally a devout man and a learned, a good musician, poet, and orator, scrupulous in the observance of the rules of his religion, very simple and unpretentious in his dress and mode of life, bearing himself in all religious functions as a plain Muslim among fellow worshippers, and robing himself in common white wool in mourning for the pestilence that ravaged the land. He spent little on himself, but 400,000 *D.* on the mosque which he built on the site of a gaol where he had suffered captivity; a hospital and other institutions showed his charitable soul. But, for all this, he had no hold over the ministers or the people, and though he flogged the oppressors he could not protect the oppressed. His piety was forgotten in his indecision, and his unsuccessful currency experiments outweighed his virtues; and when he died at the age of fifty-two, though there were over a million dinārs in his treasury, he was buried without followers, without a shroud, without even a towel for the laving of the corpse. Anxiety for the succession drowned all solicitude for the dead.

A later sultan, Khūshkadam, belonging to the degenerate race of the mediaeval Greeks, frankly recognized the impossibility of restraining his own servants, and turned their corruption and violence to his personal advantage. He played off one faction against another, Zāhiris against Ashrafis, or Nāṣiris against Mu'ayyadis, as it might happen, and thus nullifying their power, left the field free for the riotous debauchery of his own mamlūks, who murdered and ravished and plundered almost as they pleased. This crafty Greek

knew how to make the most out of the mammon of unrighteousness. Official posts were openly sold; the governor of Tripolis paid 45,000 *D.* to be promoted to Damascus, and his vacant post was purchased by another emir for 10,000 *D.*, whilst Şafed went cheap at 4000 *D.* Worse still, Khûshkâdam took bribes from mamlûks for the privilege of torturing and killing their personal rivals. An unpopular wezir was scourged, tortured, and at last executed without trial, after his enemies had greased the sultan's palm with 75,000 *D.* Unquestionably he made them pay for their pleasures. When he was short of money, he would make a call in state upon some wealthy noble, and before the visit was ceremoniously completed the unlucky entertainer was handsomely fleeced.

In spite of sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion, in



Fig. 78.—Arms of an emir inlaid in ivory and coloured woods.

spite of frequent civil wars, constant factions, and invincible corruption, the Circassian sultans and their mamlûks evidently possessed the faculty of collective self-preservation, and knew how to keep their quarrels to themselves without letting in the foreigner. Infamous as was their government, and apparently suicidal their mutual jealousies, they were

a splendid soldiery, and thus continued not only to hold Egypt, and generally Syria, for a century and a third, but to beat off one seemingly overwhelming invasion and several minor assaults. When all western Asia was trembling under the shock of Timûr's portentous conquests, the mamlûks of Egypt braved and defeated

him. Yet the political situation at the time of his approach was singularly unfavourable for solid resistance. Barkūk, the first of the Circassian sultans, had indeed ¹³⁸² Nov. 26 deposed the last of the Bahri dynasty, the child Hāggī,

without difficulty, and had been accepted as sultan throughout Egypt and Syria. But a year later a conspiracy to set up the caliph Mутакіل in his place shook his authority, and though

Fig. 79.—Dinār of Barkūk, Aleppo, 1385.

the plot was suppressed with extreme severity, the disaffection, which had spread to north Syria, grew apace. Headed by Mintāsh and Yelburghā, the governors of Malaṭiya and Aleppo, and supported by the Mongols and ¹³⁸⁹ Apr. 17 Turkmāns on the northern frontier, the rebels routed the Egyptian army near Damascus, entered the Syrian capital, and marched upon Cairo, where Barkūk, who had lost all presence of mind, after repealing all taxes, arming the raw population, barricading the streets, and entrenching the Citadel, burst into tears and took refuge in a tailor's shop.

The rebels plundered Cairo, and re-established the boy Hāggī on the nominal throne; after which they fell out among themselves, and Mintāsh and Yelburghā, from the roof of the mosque of sultan Hasan and the opposite battlements of the Citadel, pounded each other, and paved the way for the counter-revolution which Barkūk was preparing in Syria. Escaping from the fortress of Karak ¹³⁹⁰ June 1 he raised an army, discomfited the rebels near Sarkhab, took Hāggī and the caliph prisoners, and entered Cairo in ^{Feb. 1} triumph; the garrison and people came out to welcome him, the Jews bearing their Tora and the Christians their Gospels; tapers were lighted and carpets spread in his honour. The young sultan Hāggī was again deposed, but permitted to live in comfort in the Citadel till his



death in 1412, in spite of the trouble he caused by his extreme brutality to his female slaves, whose shrieks he endeavoured to drown in the uproar of songs and merriment. The next two years were occupied in



Fig. 80.—Pulpit (minbar) in tomb-mosque of Barkūk outside Cairo, 1401-11.

reducing the rebels under Mintāsh in Syria, and hardly was this accomplished when Timūr's invasion threatened the horizon. The conqueror took Baghdād in August, 1393, overran Mesopotamia in 1394, annexing territory

1996-1997

... the long history and
the past.

He was born in 1870 in the port of Alexandria, Egypt, and his original name was Abu al-Fida' Farag, because he was born

during the rebellion of Mintāsh, but it was changed to Farag, "deliverance," after Barkūk's victory over [the rebels. Farāg was only thirteen years old, but he did not long run in leading reins. At the close of 1400 he was in Syria at the head of a great Egyptian army,



Fig. 81.—Enamelled glass lamp of Barkūk in Arab Museum at Cairo.

endeavouring to check the fresh advance of Timūr, who had sacked Aleppo and was threatening Damascus. At first the Egyptians seemed to be driving the invaders back, but the retreat was probably strategic; for when the

Egyptians attacked they were heavily repulsed, and Farāq, finding that the defeat had bred sedition among his emirs, who naturally desired a more experienced leader at such a crisis, withdrew in haste to Cairo, leaving his army to its fate. Damascus surrendered on terms, but was nevertheless sacked, ruined, and burnt by the ruthless Tatars, and all northern Syria was cruelly devastated. After Timūr's victorious campaign in Asia Minor, and the total defeat of the Othmānī army at the battle of Ankara, Farāq consented to the terms demanded by Timūr's envoys, surrendered his prisoners, and even agreed to sacrifice himself in the conqueror's name. No such coins, however, have been discovered, and Timūr never entered or controlled Egypt. He died in February, 1405, whilst Farāq was again raising a new army to resist any further demands.

The sultan, however, had lost his credit by these proceedings, and a struggle for power among the leading mamlūks, during which he was treated with contumely, and even defeated in battle, ended in his sudden disappearance. For about two months his brother el-Mansur 'Abd-el-Azīz sat on the throne thus vacated, but by that time Farāq had recovered from his panic, and was brought back to power by the emir Yeshbék. The rest of his reign was largely spent in the endeavour to restore order in Syria, which had become the cockpit of rival emirs—one of whom, Ḡekem, even went so far as to style himself el-Melik el-'Ādil—but in spite of seven more or less victorious campaigns, Syria remained in a state of anarchy, and the growing power of the emirs Sheykh el-Mahmūdi and Nawrūz at Damascus more and more threatened the sultan's throne. The seventh campaign ended in his deposition by the caliph. Farāq surrendered to Sheykh el-Mahmūdi at Damascus on a promise of his life, but the caliph



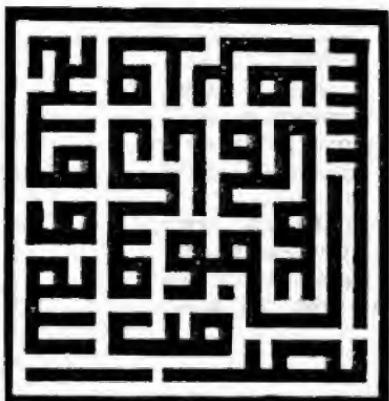
Fig. 28.—Dinars of Farāq, Cairo.
1407.

and 'ulema decreed his death, on the ground of his notoriously debauched habits. Farāg fought his execu-tioners in vain; his body was cast upon a dung heap.¹⁴¹²
May
28
 He had been a hard drinker, and had slaughtered his mamlūks, and even slain his divorced wife with his own hands. Egypt had groaned under his taxes and his war levies; European pirates had raided Alexandria (1403), Tripolis in Syria (1404), Beyrūt and Sidon; and the 'Othmānlis were encroaching on the northern frontier.

The next five reigns made little change in the situation. The caliph Musta'in was set up as a mere stop-gap, whilst Sheykh and Nawrūz settled which was the stronger man; and he retired willingly and with relief in less than six months, when Sheykh accepted Nov. 6 the throne, with the title of el-Mu'ayyad. The principal events of the new reign were two campaigns on the northern frontier, with a view to reducing the Turkmān border states

Fig. 83.—Kufic inscription of el-Mu'ayyad.

of Karamān, Dhū-l-Kadr, and Ramadān, to their former condition of vassalage. In 1418 Mu'ayyad marched upon Abulusteyn and Tarsus, and received the submission of the princes—Karamān even issuing coins in the name of the Egyptian sultan—but on his departure the Turkmāns reoccupied the territory he had taken as guarantee; and accordingly in 1419 his son Ibrāhīm marched north,¹⁴¹⁹ took Kaysariya (Caesarea), Kōniya (Iconium), and Nigda, striking coins in el-Mu'ayyad's name, and appointing governors from among the cadets of the Turkmān families; Erekli and Larenda (now the town



of Karamān), Adhana and Tarsus, were annexed, and Ibrāhīm was welcomed with enthusiasm at Cairo, only to die next year, poisoned (as was rumoured) by his jealous

father. Egypt, however gained little by these successes; Mu'ayyad was unable to control the mamlūks, and the people suffered grievously. The brief reign of his son Ahmād, under the regency

¹⁴²¹
Jan. 13 Fig. 84.—Dinār of el-Mu'ayyad, Alexandria,
1415.

Aug. of Taṭar, and the still briefer reign of Taṭar himself, followed by his son Mōhammād for a few months, under the regency of Bars-Bey, ended as usual in the accession of the regent himself.

¹⁴²²
Apr. 1 El-Ashraf Bars-Bey ruled for over sixteen years, and although his government was exceptionally oppressive, and Egypt groaned under his trade monopolies, the excesses of his mamlūks and the scarcity and high prices which naturally accompanied a general state of pillage and insecurity, he was not only strong enough to prevent encroachments upon or revolts within his dominions but even achieved an extension of his power by the conquest of Cyprus. The pirates who infested the shores of Egypt and Syria, though not necessarily Cypriotes, used the harbours of Cyprus as their base, and so long as they were sheltered there it was impossible to capture them. In the summer of 1424 a few ships from Būlāk, Damietta, and Tripolis, manned by volunteers, sailed to Cyprus, sacked Limasol (Lemsūn), and returned laden with prisoners and booty. Encouraged by this success, a fleet ¹⁴²⁵ of forty sail was despatched from Egypt in the following Aug. year, Famagusta (Magūsa) was surrendered by its Genoese garrison, Larnaka was taken, as well as Limasol, after a brief resistance, and the Egyptian admiral G'erbāsh brought over a thousand captives and much spoil in



triumph to Cairo.¹ Bars-Bey, however, had intended no such hasty return but a permanent conquest; and in the next year, rejecting the mediation of the emperor of Constantinople, he sent a larger fleet to Cyprus, manned partly by mamlüks, but chiefly by voluntary adventurers and Bedawis. The new armament landed at Limasol, which fell in a few days despite its restored fortifications, and the troops marched upon Larnaka, the fleet escorting it along the coast. King James of Lusignan killed the herald sent to summon him to surrender, and advanced by sea and land against the invaders. In an engagement at Cheirocitem, the Cypriotes threw away their first advantage, and the mamlüks, renewing the battle, took the king and many of his knights prisoners, before the Christian fleet came up. Nikosia fell next, and the island was subdued. Cairo was *en fête* on the return of the conquerors after this brief but decisive campaign. ¹⁴²⁶ ^{July 1}

The crown of Cyprus and the royal banners were carried in triumph through the streets, followed by a couple of thousand prisoners. King James himself entered the Citadel and was brought into the presence of the sultan, who was surrounded by a brilliant court and by the ambassadors of the 'Othmānli Porte, the Turkmān emirs of Asia Minor, and the representatives of the Arab tribes, the sherif of Mekka, and the king of Tunis. Bare-headed, and in irons, he kissed the ground before Bars-Bey, and then fainted. Pressed for a ransom, James replied, "I have nothing but my life, which the sultan may deal with as he sees fit." Threatened with death, he showed no fear. The consul of Venice and ¹⁴²⁷ ^{Aug. 13} the European merchants, however, interceded, and guaranteed a ransom of 100,000 *D.* down, and a similar sum after return to Cyprus; and the king was set at liberty, and allowed a house and suitable provision. He rode through the capital on a splendidly caparisoned

¹ To the credit of the sultan it must be recorded that, when the prisoners were publicly sold, he refused to allow parents and children and other near relatives to be separated. The proceeds of the sale went to the state treasury, after each adventurer had been paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 7 *D.* The double sum perhaps represents the pay of a horse-soldier.

horse, visited the bazars and churches, and finally left Egypt with the Rhodian ambassadors who had come to make a treaty with the formidable sultan who had dared to lay hands on Cyprus. An annual tribute, the amount of which is doubtful, but which probably did not exceed 5000 to 8000 ducats, was to be paid by the king as vassal of Egypt.

Cyprus continued to be tributary to Egypt to the end of the mamlük dynasty. When John II succeeded James in 1432 he renewed his predecessor's pledges, and a letter from the sultan Ināl to John¹ thanks him for the rejoicings held in Cyprus on the accession of the new ruler of Egypt, and excuses arrears of tribute. On the death of the king in 1458, Ināl supported John's natural son Jacob against his legitimate daughter Charlotte, the wife of Louis of Savoy, and sent an expedition of forty-eight ships to Cyprus to enforce his claim. The expedition was not very successful, the troops suffered from fever, and Jacob was left with a small Egyptian contingent in possession of most of the island, whilst Charlotte held out at Cerines supported by the Genoese and by the knights of Rhodes. For some time G'āni-bek el-Ablaḳ and the Egyptian contingent domineered over the new king, but Jacob finally got rid of them, without, however, repudiating his tribute and subjection to Khūshkadam, the new sultan of Egypt.

In this connexion it may be added that G'akmak, emulous of his predecessor Bars-Bey's triumph in Cyprus, made an attempt in Aug., 1440, to capture Rhodes. Fifteen galleys sailed from Būlāk, manned chiefly by volunteers, and after revictualling at Cyprus proceeded to the Asiatic port of el-'Alāyā, and thence to Châteauroux, an island of the knights of St. John, which fell at once. Rhodes, however, warned by spies in Egypt, was prepared for the attack, and the knights' fleet drove away the

¹ Mas Latrie, *Chypre*, iii. 73. Ināl adds that he has written to the 'Othmānli sultan Mohammad requesting him to order the Turkish corsairs to respect Cyprus. A present of 400 pieces of stuff for the Egyptian treasury, and twenty fine pieces for Ināl—perhaps in lieu of tribute—is also mentioned.

Egyptians with severe loss. The attempt was renewed more than once, and in June, 1444, a considerable armament sailed from Būlāk, carrying 1000 of the sultan's mamlūks, besides 18,000 volunteers and recruits from Tripolis, and succeeded in effecting a landing in Rhodes; but the city itself resisted all efforts to take it, and after forty days' siege the expedition returned to Cairo in October, and peace was signed.¹

The conquest of Cyprus was the sole addition made to the empire of Egypt during the rule of the Circassian mamlūks. It was not the only act that distinguished Bars-Bey's reign from the rest of the dynasty. He devoted special attention to the Indian trade, and contrived to extract more profits from it than any of his predecessors. In 1422 a new departure in the trade ¹⁴²² took place when a sea-captain from Calicut sailed past 'Aden—where the exactions of the Rasūlid kings of the Yemen had made profitable trading impossible—to G'idda, the port of Mekka. Here he found himself as badly cheated as at 'Aden, and accordingly in the following year he sailed past both 'Aden and G'idda, and sold his cargo at Dehlek and Sawākin. Still dissatisfied with his markets, in the third year he proposed to land at Yenbu¹, the port of Medina, which was under an Egyptian governor. This official advised the captain to try Gidda once more, and promised to protect him from extortion, and so satisfied was he with this treatment that in 1425 he convoyed fourteen vessels with rich cargoes to G'idda, and in 1426 there came to this port over forty ships from India and Persia, paying duties to the value of 70,000 *D.*, most of which no doubt found its way to the Egyptian treasury. Not content with this, the Egyptians sought to increase their profits by sundry duties in addition to the usual tenth, and the trade began to return to 'Aden. Bars-Bey then reverted to the ¹⁴³²⁻³ single tax of one-tenth on all importations landed at G'idda, but doubled the duty on all goods brought from 'Aden, with a view to recovering the trade. Goods from

¹ Vertot, *Hist. des chev. de Malte*, ii. 208 ff.; Mas Latrie, iii. 56, etc.

the Rasūlid territory were even confiscated, and pilgrims had to pay customs duty on what they brought home from Mekka.

There are unfortunately no trustworthy statistics to show the results of this policy. Duties were by no means restricted to the ports of importation. There were a number of government monopolies, and all sugar, pepper, wood, metal-work, etc., had to be brought to the government warehouses, and sold at such prices as the government fixed, subject to the duty. A cargo of pepper that cost 50 *D.* in Cairo was sold at Alexandria to Europeans for 130 *D.* The Venetians remonstrated through their consul, and getting no redress, broke off relations, and ordered a fleet to Alexandria to bring off all their merchants. This brought Bars-Bey to reason, and he accorded better terms to Venice, retaining only the pepper monopoly. The kings of Castile and Aragon also remonstrated, and sent cruisers to capture Egyptian shipping on the Syrian coast. Besides interfering with trade, Bars-Bey meddled with the currency, altering the relations of gold and silver (the latter coinage was exceptionally debased under the mamlük sultans), putting foreign



Fig. 85.—Dinār of Bars-Bey,
Alexandria, 1425.

money out of currency, and then re-admitting it, to the extreme annoyance and loss of the merchants. Under G'aḳmak we find royal monopolies and heavy duties still in force, but the Indian import duty at G'idda was still one-tenth. İnal attempted to reform the debased silver coinage, but his changes were not popular. The currency went from bad to worse, and as the mamlük empire declined, and had to fight for its bare existence, the taxation became more and more onerous.

¹⁴³⁸ Bars-Bey died unregretted. He had been a stern and oppressive ruler, and the outward tranquillity of the realm was no proof of corresponding prosperity. His

conquest of Cyprus had pleased his mamlüks, and his monopolies had enriched them; but the people suffered. Egypt and Syria, says Makrizi, became deserts in his reign. One of his last acts was to order the execution of two doctors, because they could not cure him; and this in face of the urgent remonstrances of the emirs, who revered the good men. Yet he bore the character of a devout Muslim, fasted twice a week, besides five special days in the month, and delighted to hear the historian el-'Aynî reading to him in Turkish of an evening. His son el-'Azîz Yûsuf, aged fourteen, soon gave place to his regent (Nizâm-el-mulk) Gâkmaç—once a slave of Bar-kük, a lieutenant under Mu'ayyad, a colonel under Ta'tar, and a high minister under Bars-Bey—whose government was mild compared with his predecessor's, and whose personal character was exemplary. He observed the laws of the Korân scrupulously, touched no forbidden food, prohibited wine, and suppressed profane music. His orthodoxy induced him to persecute Jews and Christians, and to enforce the old sumptuary distinctions. Unlike Bars-Bey, he was as familiar with Arabic as with Turkish, studied Arabic theology, and was fond of the society of learned men. He died at the age of about eighty, and despite his simple life he left but a trifling fortune for his own son, the child of a Greek mother.

This son, el-Mansûr 'Othmân, who was proclaimed sultan during his father's last illness, was deposed in a month and a half, by el-Ashraf Înâl, an easy-going, pliable old man, who could hardly write his own name, and whose reign was embittered by the ceaseless rivalries and disorders of the mamlüks. His son el-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad was totally unequal to his difficult position, and soon abdicated in favour of his governor, the Greek ez-Zâhir Khûshkâdam, whose rule was conspicuous for successful corruption, and whose son ez-Zâhir Yel-Bey, known as *el-meğnûn* or "the lunatic," was as usual dethroned in a couple of months by a faction of mamlüks to make room for their candidate, another elderly Greek, ez-Zâhir Timurbughâ. The new sultan was a highly cultivated man, versed in philology, history,

1438
Sept. 91453
Feb. 13

Mar. 19

Feb. 26

June 28

Oct. 9

Dec. 3

theology, and he accepted the throne with much diffidence. His first steps were to set free the imprisoned emirs of various factions, as well as the ex-sultans *Aḥmad* and *'Othmān*, and to endeavour to conciliate all parties.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Jan. ³¹ The result of his good intentions was that he found himself with no friends, and no money to buy them.

The mamlūks, losing all patience with so incomprehensible a chief, burst into the citadel, locked up the learned sultan, and set up *Kheyr Bek* with the title of *el-'Ādil*. *Kheyr Bek*, however, had only time to plunder his predecessor's harim, when a still more powerful emir, *Kāit-Bey*, assembled his mamlūks, ousted the usurper, and usurped the throne himself. *Timurbūgha*, twice deposed on the same day, was treated with the utmost consideration, and permitted to live in freedom and ease at Damietta.

¹⁴⁶⁸⁻ ¹⁴⁹⁶ El-Ashraf *Kāit-Bey* enjoyed the longest reign of any

of the mamlūk sultans since *en-Nāṣir b. Kalā'ūn*. He reigned for nearly twenty-nine years, and was the most successful and warlike of all the Circassian line. He had worked his way up after the manner of the mamlūks. *Bars-Bey* had bought him for

Fig. 86.—Dinār of *Kāit-Bey*,
1468-96.

twenty-five guineas ($50 D.$); he had been resold to *G'aḳmak*, made a lieutenant by *İnāl*, a captain, and eventually a colonel,¹ by *Khūshkadam*, until he became

¹ These terms are here used loosely to represent the mamlūk ranks “emīr of 10,” “emīr of 40,” and “emīr of 1000” horse. The ranks were not merely military, but carried with them the distinction of official nobility, like the Russian *tchin*. In *Kāit-Bey*'s time there were but fourteen emirs of 1000; in the reign of *en-Nāṣir b. Kalā'ūn* there had been twenty-four. The pay of the army, on the other hand, had been constantly increasing, from $11,000 D.$ a month under *Mu'ayyad*, and $18,000 D.$ under *Bars-Bey*, to $28,000 D.$ under *G'aḳmak*, and $46,000 D.$ in the earlier part of *Kāit-Bey*'s reign. This sum, amounting to nearly £300,000 a year, was presently reduced by striking a great many inefficients or mere pensioners off the rolls. The soldiers' rations were, of course, in addition to their pay.





Fig. 87.—Tomb-mosque of Kāit-Bey, 1474.

commander-in-chief under Timurbughā. He was an expert swordsman, and an adept at the javelin play. His career had given him experience and knowledge of the world ; he possessed courage, judgment, insight, energy, and decision. His strong character dominated his mamlūks, who were devoted to him, and overawed competitors. His physical energy was sometimes displayed in flogging the president of the council of state or other high officials with his own arm, with the object of extorting money for the treasury. Such contributions and extraordinary taxation were absolutely necessary for the wars in which he was obliged to engage. Not only was the land taxed to one fifth of the produce, but an additional tenth (half-a-dirhem per ardebb of corn) was demanded. Rich Jews and Christians were remorselessly squeezed. There was much barbarous inhumanity. innocent people were scourged, even to the death, and the chemist 'Ali b. el-Marshūshi was blinded and deprived of his tongue, because he could not turn dross into gold.

The sultan had the reputation of miserliness, yet the list of his public works, not only in Egypt, but in Syria and Arabia, shows that he spent the revenue on admirable objects. His two mosques at Cairo, and his wekā'as or caravanserais are among the most exquisite examples of elaborate arabesque ornament applied to the purest Saracenic architecture. He diligently restored and repaired the crumbling monuments of his predecessors, as numerous inscriptions in the mosques, the schools, the Citadel, and other buildings of Cairo abundantly testify. He was a frequent traveller, and journeyed in Syria, to the Euphrates, in Upper and Lower Egypt, besides performing the pilgrimages to Mekka and Jerusalem ; and wherever he went he left traces of his progress in good roads, bridges, mosques, schools, fortifications, or other pious or necessary works. No reign, save that of en-Nāṣir b. Ḵalā'ün, in the long list of mamlūk sultans, was more prolific in architectural construction or in the minor industries of art. The people suffered for the cost of his many buildings, but a later age has recognized their matchless beauty.

Kāit-Bey, however, had more serious matters to deal with than architectural achievements. The northern frontier of Syria had long been a thorn in the side of the mamlük sultans, not only on account of the chronic insubordination or revolutions among their Turkmān

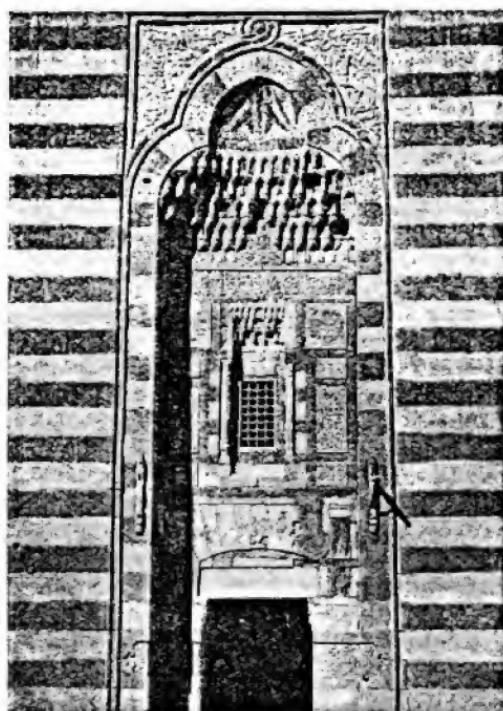


Fig. 88.—Door o' mosque of Kāit-Bey, 1474.

vassals, but because these disturbances constantly furnished a pretext for intervention on the part of their most dangerous neighbour, the 'Othmānli sultan, whose power was soon to be crowned by the conquest of

device of capturing Egyptian cities and fortresses (such as Karkar and Khartbirt), and pretending that he made it all correct by sending the *keys* to Cairo!

There were signs, moreover, that the 'Othmānlis were not anxious for the friendship of Egypt. An embassy from Mōhammad II in 1464 pointedly disregarded some of the customary etiquette. In a dispute over the succession to the principality of Karamān, the Porte and Egypt took opposite sides and nearly came to blows, and in another dispute between two brothers for the state of Dhū-l-Kadr—which was technically tributary to Egypt—the Porte secretly supported Shāh Siwār, the candidate whom Egypt opposed, and the mamlūks were defeated ¹⁴⁶⁸ with heavy loss at 'Ayn-Tāb, and later on near the river ¹⁴⁶⁹ G'eyhūn. Eventually, deprived of Turkish support, the rebel was forced to surrender, brought to Cairo, and hanged; but the course of the war had shown the danger of 'Othmānli intervention. Üzūn Hasan continued his policy of pretended vassalage to Kāit-Bey, sending him presents of camels and coats of mail and Circassian slaves; but so long as he persisted in keeping the fortresses and giving his suzerain only the keys, his career of aggrandisement gave Kāit-Bey no little anxiety,

and the defeat of his "vassal" by Mōhammad II of Turkey was looked upon with some satisfaction.

All these minor contests proved the growing power and interference of the Ottoman Porte, and, if occasion were needed for a rupture, it was certain that it would easily be found in some border dispute. Kāit-Bey went out of his way to invite a quarrel, however, when he welcomed the ex-

Fig. 90.—Arms of Kāit-Bey.

iled prince G'em (Djem), brother and rival of the new sultan of Turkey, Bayezid II, and not only treated him



with royal honours at Cairo, but supplied him with means for a fruitless rising in Asia Minor. When the unlucky exile was made the cat's-paw of the European powers, Kāit-Bey played his part in the ignoble tragedy, and negotiated with the pope for the surrender of so valuable a possession as the heir to the 'Othmānlī throne,¹ until finding it hopeless to extricate such a prize from Christian



Fig. 91.—Arms of Kāit-Bey,
from a lamp.

toils, he set about conciliating the offended brother at Constantinople. Bāyezid at first rejected all overtures, and invaded Cilicia, taking Tarsus and Adhana; but, when in several engagements, the mamlūks, under the emir Ezbek, had the better fortune, whilst Matthias Corvinus was threatening in Hungary, and G'em, the source of all these contests, was still alive at Rome, the Porte thought

better of the overtures of peace which Kāit-Bey, weary of these expensive campaigns, renewed. The first envoy, ⁴⁹¹ Mamāy, was imprisoned; but the second, the emir Gānbālāt b. Yeshbek, managed to reach Bāyezid's ear, and peace was concluded on the Turks restoring the keys of the fortresses they had seized.

The last years of Kāit-Bey's reign were clouded, not only by the heavy taxation and consequent discontent due to the war, but also by an exceptionally virulent ⁴⁹² plague, which carried off 12,000 persons in a single day in Cairo, killed a third of the mamlūks, and bereaved the sultan himself of his only wife and a daughter on the same day. The plague was followed by scarcity and

¹ See Thuasne, *Djem Sultan*, ch. ii, and pp. 254, 281, etc.; Weil, v. 345, note.

cattle disease ; and to add to the general misery, a fierce contest broke out between two great divisions of the ¹⁴⁹⁵ mamlüks. The aged sultan displayed his standard at the Citadel gate, beat to quarters, and quelled the riot for the

moment, but the intrigues and jealousies continued, and at length Kāit-Bey, overcome by years (he was over eighty), and illness and worry, abdicated in favour of his son, ¹⁴⁹⁶ Aug. 7 and died the day after.

After the brief reigns of Kāit-Bey's cruel and incapable son, en-Nāṣir Mohammad (7 Aug., 1496—31 Oct., 1498); of ez-Zāhir Kānsūh (2 Nov., 1498—28 June, 1500); el-Ashraf Gān-balāt (30 June, 1500—25 Jan., 1501); and

Fig. 92.—Arms of emir Ezbek, on his mosque, 1495.

el-'Ādil Tūmān-Bey (Jan.—20 April, 1501), who were all at the mercy of the turbulent mamlüks, el-Ashraf Kānsūh el-Ghūrī, a vigorous old man of sixty, once a slave of Kāit-Bey's, was elected to the throne, ¹⁵⁰¹ Apr. ²⁰ and quickly proved that age had not abated his natural strength of character. He restored order in the distracted metropolis at once, placed men whom he could trust in office, and set to work to replenish the empty treasury. Never had such drastic measures been known. He levied ten months' taxes at a stroke, laying not only the lands and shops and the other usual sources under contribution, but also the mills, water-wheels, boats, beasts of burden, Jews, Christians, palace servants, and even the *wakf* or pious endowments. He imposed heavy customs duties, and mulcted the next of kin of the greater part of their inheritance. He still further debased the coinage for the benefit of the treasury and to the injury of the merchant. The result was a handsome revenue at the cost of the impoverishment and discontent of the people. El-Ghūrī spent his money on his mamlüks, whose number he increased by purchase ; on building



his mosque and college in the street of Cairo named after him the Ghūriya ; on improving the pilgrims' road to Mekka, erecting rest-houses and digging wells ; on making canals, aqueducts, fortifications at Alexandria and Rosetta, restoring the Citadel of Cairo, and generally improving the public works of the country. He also kept great state at court ; his horses, jewels, table equipage, and kitchen were sumptuous and splendid ; and though he was niggard and heartless enough to cut off the pensions of orphans, he could be princely in his presents to poets and musicians.

Beyond a few military émeutes and Bedawi risings,



Fig. 93.—Inscription of Tūmān-Bey I in Citadel of Cairo, 1500.

there were few events to disturb the earlier years of his reign. The chief expeditions were to the Red Sea, where a new and formidable rival had appeared, who threatened to destroy the Indian transit trade which brought so much wealth to Egypt. Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, and the Portuguese had established themselves at Calicut in 1500. The trade which went to Egypt by way of 'Aden and G'idda and Sawākin was being diverted to the Cape route to Europe, and Egyptian ships, or ships trading to the Red Sea, were being seized by the Portuguese.

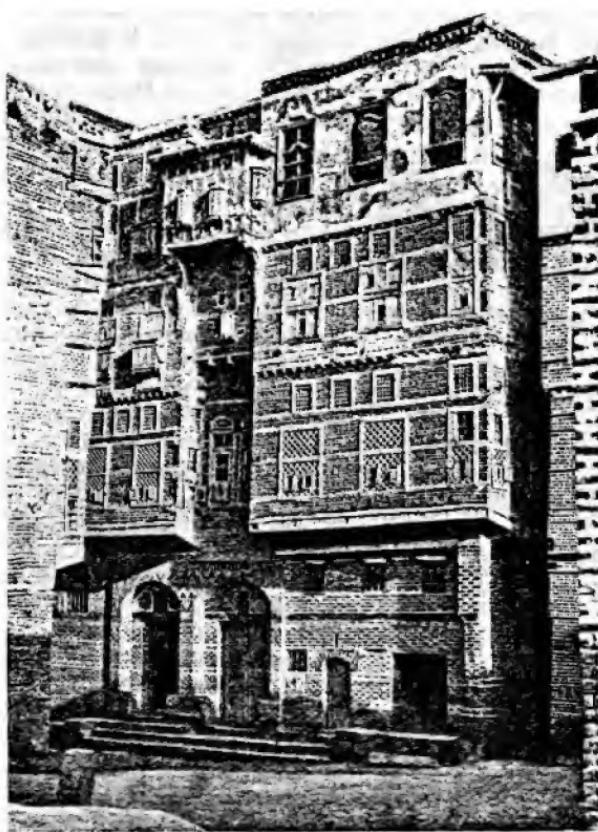


Fig. 94.—Sixteenth century house at Rosetta.

Ghūrī was entreated by the king of Gugarāt and the other Mohammadan rulers of India and southern Arabia to come to the rescue; and the importance of the menaced trade was an argument quite strong enough to move him. He first tried a diplomatic appeal to the pope to check the outrages of the Spaniards and Portuguese upon the Muslims both west and east, and threatened to destroy the holy places of Palestine if these persecutions and depredations continued. The European

powers rightly judged that this was but an idle threat, and took no notice of it. Ghūrī then built a new fleet in the Red Sea, and his admiral Hoseyn encountered the Portuguese off Chaul, and defeated it, with the loss of the flagship and its admiral,



Fig. 95.—Dinār of el-Ghūrī,
Cairo, 1508.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Lorenço, son of Almeida. The Portuguese, however, had their revenge at Diu in the following year; Albuquerque attacked 'Aden in 1513; the Egyptian carrying trade with India was doomed, but the mamlük dynasty was doomed too.

¹⁵¹² So long as Bāyezid II was sultan of Turkey it was possible to temporize; but when his warlike and ambitious son Selim I succeeded, in 1512, the long-impending catastrophe could no longer be averted. After the defeat of Ismā'il, the first shāh of the new Ṣafavid dynasty of Persia, at the battle of Chaldirān in 1514, Selim turned southwards towards Syria and Egypt.

¹⁵¹⁴ He seized the border state of Dhū-l-Kadr, then tributary to Egypt, and sent its ruler's head to Cairo, although Egypt and Turkey were still at peace with one another. The annexation of Diyār-Bekr brought the 'Othmānlis into close contact with the Egyptian frontiers in Syria and on the Euphrates, and Selim continued to mass troops on the border. His grievances against Ghūrī were trifling: the sultan of Egypt had allowed the enemies of Turkey and even fugitive princes of the 'Othmānli house to pass through or take

refuge in his territories; he was believed to be in secret communication with shāh Ismā'il of Persia; he had not commanded his vassal of Dhū-l-Kadr to support the Turks in their campaign against the Persians. But Selim was not the man to wait for a fair *casus belli*: he had resolved to conquer Egypt, and no question of right would stand in his way.

Kāngūh el-Ghūrī had missed his opportunity: he should have joined forces with shāh Ismā'il in 1514, when the battle of Khaldirān might have had a different issue. He was over seventy years old, however, and his energies were failing. In May, 1516, too late, he left Cairo at the head of his army. Of the twenty-six colonels (or emirs of 1000) of the Egyptian establishment, fifteen accompanied him to Syria, and the number of his personal following of mamlūks is variously estimated at 5000 to 14,000 horsemen. What was the total force under his command is not recorded, but it included the levies of Egypt and Syria and the Bedawī tribes. In June he made a triumphal entry into Damascus, and thence marched north to Aleppo. He received two embassies from Selim, assuring him of his goodwill and repeating that the Turks were mustering against Persia, not against Egypt; but Ghūrī was not convinced, and when an embassy he sent to Selim



Fig. 96.—Arms of commandant
Aktūh, c. 1516.

in reply was grossly and contemptuously outraged by the Turkish sultan, there was no longer any room for doubt as to his intentions. The two armies met on the plain called Marg Dābilik, a little north of Aleppo, on Sunday, the 24th of August, 1516, and despite the bravery of the Aug. mamlūks, the Egyptian army suffered a total defeat: the superior numbers and the artillery of the Turks, aided by the jealousy of some of the troops, and the treachery of

Kheyr Beg, who had been won over by Selim and now deserted with the left wing of the army, after spreading a rumour that Ghūri was killed, completely routed the Egyptians, and they fled from the field. Their sultan was indeed dead, and they had no leader.

In Cairo, Tūmān-Bey, the viceroy, a slave of Ghūri's was elected sultan as soon as the news was known of his



Fig. 97.—Bāb-el-Azab, Gate of the Citadel of Cairo, 18th century.

¹⁵¹⁶ master's death. He accepted the office with reluctance, ^{Oct.} and only after the sheykh Abū-Su'ūd had pledged the ¹⁷ emirs to absolute loyalty. A letter from Selim arrived, proposing to recognize him as viceroy of Egypt, if he would acknowledge the sultan of Turkey on the coinage and in the prayers. Tūmān-Bey was not indisposed to accept these terms, but the mamlūk emirs compelled him to refuse, and the Turkish envoys were killed. There is no doubt that the mass of the Egyptians regarded the Ottoman conquest as a certainty not to be resisted. ¹⁵¹⁷ The Turks were soon upon them. On 22 Jan. they defeated the Egyptian army outside Cairo, and on the next day Selim was prayed for in all the mosques of Cairo. On the 26th, Selim himself entered Cairo in

state, accompanied by the captive caliph. The brief resistance of the mamlüks was overcome; and Tūman-Bey was betrayed, and hanged at the Zawila gate (14 April). The caliph Mutawekkil, last of the 'Abbāsid caliphs of Egypt, was carried off to Constantinople and imprisoned; but after the death of Selim (Sept., 1520),



Fig. 98.—Altün of sultan Suleyman of Turkey, Miṣr, 1520.

Suleyman the Great set the caliph free and allowed him to return to Cairo soon afterwards, where he died in 1538, after bequeathing his title and rights to the sultan of Turkey. The legality of the inheritance is repudiated, not only by

the Shī'a, but by the majority of learned Sunnis, who are aware that a caliph must belong to the Prophet's tribe of Kureysh; but whatever they may be *de jure*, the sultans of Turkey have been *de facto* caliphs of the greater part of orthodox Islām ever since the death of Mutawekkil.

After the 'Othmānlī conquest, Egypt sank into the position of a mere province of the Turkish empire, and was separated from the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Arabia.¹ The traitor Khey'r Bek was the first governor under the new régime. But the power of the mamlüks was not extinguished, and as time went on the authority of the Turkish pasha, supported by his janizaries, shrank before the reviving strength of the mamlüks, headed by their chief emir, who was known as the sheykh-el-beled, or mayor. One of the sheykhs, 'Ali Bey, in the eighteenth century, supported by a large force of valiant mamlüks, and by the sympathy of the population, expelled the Turkish pasha, proclaimed the independence of Egypt (1768), subdued part of Arabia, and attempted to annex Syria. He was, however, betrayed, defeated,

¹ The history of Egypt under the 'Othmānlī Turks, and its development under the Khedives guided by French and latterly English influence, form a subject for a separate volume.

and killed by his favoured general Mohammad Abū-Dhabab (1772). The leading manlūks fought over the government of Egypt, subject, more or less, to the Porte, until Napoleon's invasion and victory at the battle of Embāba or "the Pyramids" (July 21, 1798)



Fig. 99.—Vigirlik of 'Ali Bey, Miṣr, 1769.

converted Egypt for three years into a province of France. The British naval victory of the Nile, fought in the bay of Abū-kir (Aug. 1, 1798) and the battle of



Fig. 100.—The Citadel of Cairo in 1859.

Alexandria (March 21, 1801), forced the French to evacuate the country (Sept.), and the authority of the Porte was restored. The perpetual jealousies of the mamlūks and their contests with the Turkish pasha were brought to an end when Mohammad 'Ali expelled the pasha (1805), massacred the leading mamlūks (1805 and 1811), and established the dynasty of viceroys or khedives which is still upon the throne of Egypt.



INDEX

- Abāqīlā, Ilkhān, 275, 279, 280
 'Abdād el-Balkhi, governor, 55
 el-'Abbās, regicide, 171, 172, 173
 el-'Abbās b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān,
 marshal, 51
 el-'Abbās b. Lahi'a, marshal, 55
 el-'Abbās b. Mūsā, governor, 55
 el-'Abbās, son of Ibn-Tūlūn, 68
 el-'Abbās 76, 258
 'Abbāsid caliphs of Baghdād 30,
 35, 138, 257-260; proclaimed at
 Cairo 193; black robes of 103;
 robes and throne at Cairo 139
 'Abbāsid caliphs of Cairo 264,
 list 265; 287, 291, 305, 355
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd-el-Melik, gov.,
 46
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān, gov.,
 51
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b.
 Hudeyq, marshal, 49, 50; vice-
 governor, 50
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, governor, 45
 'Abdallāh b. Beshshār, marshal, 48
 'Abdallāh b. Huğeyra, kādi, 47
 'Abdallāh b. Kays, vice-gov., 45
 'Abdallāh b. Lahi'a, kādi, 40, 51
 'Abdallāh b. el-Mo'izz, 113, 114
 'Abdallāh b. el-Mughira, marshal, 49
 'Abdallāh b. el-Musayyab, gov.,
 53; vice-governor 53
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, general, 15;
 governor 20-23, 46
 'Abdallāh b. Sumeyr, marshal, 48
 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir, governor, 36, 56
 'Abdallāwi melons 37
 'Abdaweyh b. G'ebela, marshal and
 governor, 56
 'Abd-el-'Alā b. Khālid, marshal
 and kādi, 47
 'Abd-el-'Alā b. Sa'd, marshal, 51
 'Abd-el-'Azīz, el-Mansūr, Burğī sul-
 tan, 334; inscription, 323
 'Abd-el-'Azīz b. Marwān, governor,
 26, 46
 'Abd-el-Bāsit, medresa, 323
 'Abd-el-Ghāni, medresa, 323
 'Abd-el-Hakam, Ibn-, 13, 19, 20;
 Muhammad ibn, 65
 'Abd-el-Latīf 12, 214, 215
 'Abd-el-Melik b. Rīfā'a, gov., 47, 48
 'Abd-el-Melik, Omayyad caliph, 26
 'Abd-el-Melik b. Marwān, treasurer
 and governor, 49
 'Abd-el-Melik b. Şālih, gov., 53
 'Abd-el-Melik b. Yezid, gov., 29
 'Abd-el-Wāhid b. Yaḥyā, gov., 57
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh,
 kādi, 54
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. 'Amr, vice-
 governor, 46
 'Abd-er-Rahmān, heir of Hākim,
 134
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Huğeyra, treas.
 and kādi, 46
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Khālid, mar-
 shal, 48; governor, 48
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Maslama, mar-
 shal, 52
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mo'awiya,
 marshal and kādi, 41
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Mūsā, marshal,
 52; vice-governor, 54
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. 'Otba, gov., 46
 'Abd-er-Rahmān b. Sālim, kādi,
 49; treasurer, 50
 'Abdūn, Ibn-, wezir, 128
 'Abis, marshal and kādi, 46
 'Abish, queen of Fārs, 255
 Abū-'Abdallāh esh-Shi'i, 95, 96

- Abū-'Ali "Katifāt," vezir, 167
 Abū-'Awn, governor, 31, 50
 Abū-Bekr b. G'ūnādā, marshal, 55
 Abū-Bekr b. Muzhir, medresa, 323
 Abū-l-Faraq 12
 Abū-l-Fidā 136, 226, 255, 259, 272,
 298, 312, 313
 Abū-Katīla, treasurer, 51
 Abulusteyn 270, 335, 346
 Abū-Maryam 5
 Abū-Miyāmīn (Benjamin) 2
 Abū-Negāh b. Kennā, monk, 166
 Abū-r-Rakāmak, poet, 187
 Abū-Rakwā, rebel, 128, 129
 Abū-Sa'īd, İlhān, 307
 Abū-Sa'īd of Tustar, 137, 148
 Abū-Śālib 6, 26, 86, 119, 127, 151,
 152, 169, 170, 197, 205
 Abū-Śālib *see* Memīdūl
 Abū-s-Seyfeyn, ch., 119
 Abū-Su'ud, sheykh, 354
 Abū-Yezid, rebel, 98
 Abyār 149
 Abyssinians 87, 272, 310
 Abyssinians' Lake 140, 183
 el-'Adawiyah convent 170
 'Aden 197, 339, 352
 Adhna 66, 70, 336, 346, 348
 el-'Ādīd, Fātimid caliph, 170, 176,
 181, 193, 200
 el-'Adil, Ayyūbid, 203, 212-221 ;
 inscription, 212
 el-'Adil II, Ayyūbid, 230, 240, 257;
 casket, 230
 el-'Ādīl Ruzzik, vezir, 176
 el-'Ādīl, *see* Ketbughā, Selāmish
 Adjutant-general 246, 248
 Administration, provincial, 18-20,
 25 ff; Fātimid, 156, 157
 el-'Afḍal, son of Saladin, 213-215
 el-'Afḍal, vezir, 131, 154, 161-165
 Afstegin 114, 120, 158
 Aglābīya 107
 Aghlabids 68, 80, 95
 Ahmad Abū-l-Fawāris, Ikhshidid,
 9
 mad, G'elār, 332
 mad Khān 280
 mad, el-Mu'ayyad, Burğī sultan,
 9, 342
- Aḥmad, el-Muẓaffar, Burğī sultan,
 336
 Aḥmad el-Wāsitī, secretary, 61
 Aḥmad b. Ismā'il, governor, 54
 Aḥmad b. Keyghalagh, gov., 79
 Aḥmad b. Khālid, treasurer, 57
 Aḥmad b. Muḍebbir, treasurer, 57,
 58, 61, 66, 67, 71
 Aḥmad b. Mūsā, marshal, 54
 Aḥmad b. Muẓāḥim, governor, 58
 Aḥmad b. Tūlūn *see* Tūlūn
 'Akāba 192
 Ākbughā, medresa, 276
 el-Akhḍar b. Marwān, marshal, 51
 'Akka (Acre) 150, 151, 161, 163,
 165 ; siege of 209-211 ; 217, 218,
 227, 228, 239, 262, 267, 269, 279,
 282, 285-7 ; gate at Cairo 302
 Akkar 269
 el-Ākmar, mosque, 117, 189
 el-Āksā, mosque at Jerusalem, *see*
 Harām
 Aksunkur, emir, 318 ; mosque, 276,
 314
 Aḳṭāi, Fūris-ed-dīn, 243, 257-260
 el-'Alī b. 'Āsim, vice-governor, 54
 'Alā-ed-dīn b. Kalā'ūn, 284
 Alāmūl 162
 'Alawīs *see* 'Alids
 el-'Alāya 338
 Albuquerque 352
 Aleppo 84, 85, 87, 88, 158, 159,
 160, 174, 199, 200, 206, 213, 215,
 229, 256, 295, 297, 306, 330, 332,
 333, 353 ; inscriptions 277, 324
 Alexandria 1, 6, 7, 8-17, 20, 21, 23,
 30, 35, 36, 38, 41, 49, 61, 62, 65,
 78, 80, 81, 83, 98, 101, 102, 107,
 112, 151, 155, 157, 162, 182, 183,
 188, 204, 216, 272, 316, 320, 327,
 335, 350 ; library 12 ; Norman
 siege 198 ; trade 218, 240, 303,
 304, 340 ; Kāit-Bey's castle 323-4
 'Alī, fourth caliph, 24, 31
 'Alī Bey, rebel, 355
 'Alī, el-Manṣūr, Bahri sultan, 261
 'Alī b. el-Faḍl, marshal and vice-
 governor, 53
 'Alī Abū-l-Ilāsan, Ikhshidid, 86, 87
 'Alī b. el-Marshūḥī, chemist, 344

- 'Ali b. Mohammad, 'Alid, 32
 'Ali b. el-Muthanna, marshal, 54
 'Ali b. Suleyhb, k. of Yemen, 138
 'Ali b. Suleymān, governor, 52
 'Ali b. Vahyā, Armenian gov., 57
 'Alids 31, 32, 61, 92 ff.
 Alliances with Christians 180, 281 :
 see France
 Almās, emir, mosque, 276
 Aloes 141, 147
 Alum quarries 304
 'Alwa 22
 Amalric, k. of Jerusalem, 17, 176-
 185, 199
 Amalric of Lusignan, k. of Cyprus,
 217, 218
 Ambassadors at Cairo, 180, see Embas-
 sies
 Amber 165
 Ambergis 122, 141
 Āmid 229, 346
 el-Āmin, 'Abhāsīd caliph, 35
 el-Āmir, Fātimid caliph, 152, 162-
 166, 170
 'Ammār b. Muslim, marshal, 52, 53
 'Ammār, Ibn-, 107, 124, 125
 'Amr b. el-'Āṣi, conqueror and
 governor of Egypt, 1-21, 23, 24,
 26, 45 ; mosque at Fustāt, 17, 32,
 73, 103, 132, 156, 204, 302
 'Amr b. Ma'di Kerib, sword of, 148
 'Amr b. Sa'id, marshal, 46
 'Amr b. Shurāḥīl 23
 Anas, tomb of, 323
 'Anbasa b. Ishāk, gov., 40, 41, 42, 57
 Andalusian immigrants 35, 36
 Angora, battle, 334
 Anjou, Charles of, 266
 Anne, ch. of St., Jerusalem, inscr.,
 191
 Antartūs (*Antarndus*) see Tortosa
 Antioch 66, 70, 158, 163, 208, 217,
 227, 266-9
 Anūshteq̄ ed-Dizberī, governor of
 Syria, 159, 160
 Apamea (*Fāmiya*) 266
 Aqueducts 65, 117, 203, 276, 316, 323
 Arab conquest of Egypt 1-13 ; inva-
 sions of Nubia 15, 21-23, 41,
 42 ; tribes in Egypt 28, 29, 31,
 33-35, 38, 43, 101, 106, 113, 141,
 173, 259, 260, 300, 320, 327 ;
 Arab troops 243, 278-280, 337,
 353
 Arabia 118, 138, 197, 207, 215,
 272, 308, 310
 Arabic in public documents 27
 Aragon 266, 310, 340
 el-Ārag or U'cyrig 5
 Araucana 308
 Arbalesteer 262, 263
 Arch, pointed, 63, 65
 Archer, T. A., 287
 Archery 250
 Architecture 63, 65, 111, 123, 152,
 153, 189, 201, 203, 204, 314, 315,
 326, 344
 Ardebb = 5 bushels, 6, 24
 'Ard-et-Tabbāla 139
 Aīgawāsh, gov. of Damascus, 297
 Arghūn, medresa of emir, 276
 Argüz b. Ulugh Tarkhān, marshal
 and governor, 58
 el-'Arish, frontier town, 2, 13, 79,
 83, 161, 259
 'Arka 267
 Armenia, Lesser, see Cilicia
 Armenians 57, 150, 152, 162, 168,
 237, 274, 279
 Armenosa 3
 Armour 122 ; armour-bearer 247
 Army 2, 7, 29, 83, 85, 154, 155,
 342
 Arṣūf 210, 267
 Art 111, 112, 188, 314, 315, 326 see
 Architecture
 Artabūn 5
 Artin Pasha, xi, Coll. of Coins, 55
 Artina 310
 Arundel, earl of, 222
 Asad-ed-din 186
 Aṣal - Bey, mosque in Fayyūm
 (1499) 323
 Ascalon 155, 158, 164, 165, 173,
 204, 208, 210, 230, 231
 Ashfīn 38
 Ashnās, fiefee, 30, 56
 el-Ashraf Sha'bān, Bāhri sultan,
 mosque, 276
 el-Ashraf Mūsā, Ayyūbid, 257-259

- 322, 326, 330-332; medresa 323, 332; tomb 323, 332; inscription 323
- Bars-Bey, el-Ashraf, Burğî sultan, 327, 336-341, 346; medresa and tomb 323; inscr. 323
- Basil II, East Roman emperor, 120, 159
- Bashir b. en-Nâdîr, kâdi, 46
- Bashmakdâr, slipper-bearer, 247
- Bashmûr 104
- el-Batâilî, *see* el-Marmûn
- Bath, Night of the, 85
- Baths, public, 12, 33, 133
- Bâtilîs 141
- Batûta, Ibn-, 314, 315
- Bayeux casket 111
- Bâyezid, 'Othmânî sultan, 247, 332, 348, 352
- Bedawîs *see* Arabs
- Bedr el-Gemâlî, wezîr, 150, 151, 152, 153, 161, 168, 201
- Beer 126, 273
- Behnesa 4, 112, 148, 287
- Bekkâr b. Kuteyba, kâdi, 57, 58, 68, 69
- Bektâsh, emîr, 300
- Bektimîr (or Buktumûr, Bektemir, Bekdemir) emîr, 296, 302; inscr., 276
- Beled, on Tigris, 73
- Belfort (Shekîf Arñûn) 218, 268
- Belhib 10, 11
- Bells 103, 127
- Benjamin, patriarch, 2, 26
- Berbers, 24, 31, 32, 95, 96, 97, 107, 134, 135, 137, 145, 146; troops, 118, 124, 125, 141; *see* Kitâma, Lewâta, Sanhâga
- Berchem, M. van, v, xi, 59, 117, 153, 191, 201, 277, 324
- Bernard, bishop of Palermo, 226
- el-Besâsîri, emîr, 138
- Beshtâk, palace of emîr, 276
- Bethlehem 227
- Beybars, eg-Zâhir, Bahri sultan, 184, 235, 246, 248-251, 257, 262-275; tomb 276; inscr. 242; lion 263
- Beybars II, el-Muzaaffar, Gâshnegîr, Bahri sultan, 288, 294, 295, 298, 300, 304-306; Khânaqâh 276, 314; inscription 276
- Beydara, emîr, 276, 288
- Beyn-el-Kâşreyn, 109, 166, 168, 230, 237, 258, 264, 314, 332
- Beyrût 114, 206, 217, 220, 287, 335
- Beyşân 218, 262
- Beysari, emîr, 251, 291, 293, 302
- Beyt-el-kâdi 323
- Beyt-el-mâl (treasury) 156
- Bezoar 147
- Bibars *see* Beybars
- Bidding-prayer *see* Khuṭba
- el-Bilâdhûrî, historian, 15, 19, 45
- Bilbek, emîr, 242
- Bilbeys 2, 3, 20, 123, 177, 178, 184, 223
- el-Bira 266, 270, 272, 332
- Birket - el - Ilabash ('Abyssinians' Lake) 140, 183
- Bishr b. Şâfiwân, governor, 47
- Black robes 103, 127
- Black troops *see* Südânîs
- Boemond VI 217, 266, 268, 269; Boemond VII 281
- Bona 112
- Books, hills of destroyed, 149
- Bridge of er-Rôda 108, 141
- Brigandage 135, 318, 320
- Brooks, E. W., 8, 13
- Bükâlamûn 112
- Bûlâk 112, 336
- Bulgaria 310
- Bulgîn, Yûsuf b. Zeyrî, 107
- el-Bundukdâr (arbaletteer) 263
- Burg-ez-Zafar, Alexandria 323-324
- Burg Oghlu tribe 278
- Burgi niamluks 282, 305, 323-355; list of sultans 254
- Burgundy, duke of, 236
- Burhân-ed-dîn, Mongol gov., 332
- Burlughî, emîr, 296
- Bury, J. B., v, 7
- Busiris 9, 20
- Butcher, Mrs., 3, 240
- Butler, A. J., 17
- Buweyhids 106, 159
- Byzantines *see* Romans, East
- CAESAREA (Philippi) 159, 178, 267; archbishop of 228

~~10~~
~~11~~
~~12~~
~~13~~
~~14~~
~~15~~
~~16~~
~~17~~
~~18~~
~~19~~
~~20~~
~~21~~
~~22~~
~~23~~
~~24~~
~~25~~
~~26~~
~~27~~
~~28~~
~~29~~
~~30~~
~~31~~
~~32~~
~~33~~
~~34~~
~~35~~
~~36~~
~~37~~
~~38~~
~~39~~
~~40~~
~~41~~
~~42~~
~~43~~
~~44~~
~~45~~
~~46~~
~~47~~
~~48~~
~~49~~
~~50~~
~~51~~
~~52~~
~~53~~
~~54~~
~~55~~
~~56~~
~~57~~
~~58~~
~~59~~
~~60~~
~~61~~
~~62~~
~~63~~
~~64~~
~~65~~
~~66~~
~~67~~
~~68~~
~~69~~
~~70~~
~~71~~
~~72~~
~~73~~
~~74~~
~~75~~
~~76~~
~~77~~
~~78~~
~~79~~
~~80~~
~~81~~
~~82~~
~~83~~
~~84~~
~~85~~
~~86~~
~~87~~
~~88~~
~~89~~
~~90~~
~~91~~
~~92~~
~~93~~
~~94~~
~~95~~
~~96~~
~~97~~
~~98~~
~~99~~
~~100~~
~~101~~
~~102~~
~~103~~
~~104~~
~~105~~
~~106~~
~~107~~
~~108~~
~~109~~
~~110~~
~~111~~
~~112~~
~~113~~
~~114~~
~~115~~
~~116~~
~~117~~
~~118~~
~~119~~
~~120~~
~~121~~
~~122~~
~~123~~
~~124~~
~~125~~
~~126~~
~~127~~
~~128~~
~~129~~
~~130~~
~~131~~
~~132~~
~~133~~
~~134~~
~~135~~
~~136~~
~~137~~
~~138~~
~~139~~
~~140~~
~~141~~
~~142~~
~~143~~
~~144~~
~~145~~
~~146~~
~~147~~
~~148~~
~~149~~
~~150~~
~~151~~
~~152~~
~~153~~
~~154~~
~~155~~
~~156~~
~~157~~
~~158~~
~~159~~
~~160~~
~~161~~
~~162~~
~~163~~
~~164~~
~~165~~
~~166~~
~~167~~
~~168~~
~~169~~
~~170~~
~~171~~
~~172~~
~~173~~
~~174~~
~~175~~
~~176~~
~~177~~
~~178~~
~~179~~
~~180~~
~~181~~
~~182~~
~~183~~
~~184~~
~~185~~
~~186~~
~~187~~
~~188~~
~~189~~
~~190~~
~~191~~
~~192~~
~~193~~
~~194~~
~~195~~
~~196~~
~~197~~
~~198~~
~~199~~
~~200~~
~~201~~
~~202~~
~~203~~
~~204~~
~~205~~
~~206~~
~~207~~
~~208~~
~~209~~
~~210~~
~~211~~
~~212~~
~~213~~
~~214~~
~~215~~
~~216~~
~~217~~
~~218~~
~~219~~
~~220~~
~~221~~
~~222~~
~~223~~
~~224~~
~~225~~
~~226~~
~~227~~
~~228~~
~~229~~
~~230~~
~~231~~
~~232~~
~~233~~
~~234~~
~~235~~
~~236~~
~~237~~
~~238~~
~~239~~
~~240~~
~~241~~
~~242~~
~~243~~
~~244~~
~~245~~
~~246~~
~~247~~
~~248~~
~~249~~
~~250~~
~~251~~
~~252~~
~~253~~
~~254~~
~~255~~
~~256~~
~~257~~
~~258~~
~~259~~
~~260~~
~~261~~
~~262~~
~~263~~
~~264~~
~~265~~
~~266~~
~~267~~
~~268~~
~~269~~
~~270~~
~~271~~
~~272~~
~~273~~
~~274~~
~~275~~
~~276~~
~~277~~
~~278~~
~~279~~
~~280~~
~~281~~
~~282~~
~~283~~
~~284~~
~~285~~
~~286~~
~~287~~
~~288~~
~~289~~
~~290~~
~~291~~
~~292~~
~~293~~
~~294~~
~~295~~
~~296~~
~~297~~
~~298~~
~~299~~
~~300~~
~~301~~
~~302~~
~~303~~
~~304~~
~~305~~
~~306~~
~~307~~
~~308~~
~~309~~
~~310~~
~~311~~
~~312~~
~~313~~
~~314~~
~~315~~
~~316~~
~~317~~
~~318~~
~~319~~
~~320~~
~~321~~
~~322~~
~~323~~
~~324~~
~~325~~
~~326~~
~~327~~
~~328~~
~~329~~
~~330~~
~~331~~
~~332~~
~~333~~
~~334~~
~~335~~
~~336~~
~~337~~
~~338~~
~~339~~
~~340~~
~~341~~
~~342~~
~~343~~
~~344~~
~~345~~
~~346~~
~~347~~
~~348~~
~~349~~
~~350~~
~~351~~
~~352~~
~~353~~
~~354~~
~~355~~
~~356~~
~~357~~
~~358~~
~~359~~
~~360~~
~~361~~
~~362~~
~~363~~
~~364~~
~~365~~
~~366~~
~~367~~
~~368~~
~~369~~
~~370~~
~~371~~
~~372~~
~~373~~
~~374~~
~~375~~
~~376~~
~~377~~
~~378~~
~~379~~
~~380~~
~~381~~
~~382~~
~~383~~
~~384~~
~~385~~
~~386~~
~~387~~
~~388~~
~~389~~
~~390~~
~~391~~
~~392~~
~~393~~
~~394~~
~~395~~
~~396~~
~~397~~
~~398~~
~~399~~
~~400~~
~~401~~
~~402~~
~~403~~
~~404~~
~~405~~
~~406~~
~~407~~
~~408~~
~~409~~
~~410~~
~~411~~
~~412~~
~~413~~
~~414~~
~~415~~
~~416~~
~~417~~
~~418~~
~~419~~
~~420~~
~~421~~
~~422~~
~~423~~
~~424~~
~~425~~
~~426~~
~~427~~
~~428~~
~~429~~
~~430~~
~~431~~
~~432~~
~~433~~
~~434~~
~~435~~
~~436~~
~~437~~
~~438~~
~~439~~
~~440~~
~~441~~
~~442~~
~~443~~
~~444~~
~~445~~
~~446~~
~~447~~
~~448~~
~~449~~
~~450~~
~~451~~
~~452~~
~~453~~
~~454~~
~~455~~
~~456~~
~~457~~
~~458~~
~~459~~
~~460~~
~~461~~
~~462~~
~~463~~
~~464~~
~~465~~
~~466~~
~~467~~
~~468~~
~~469~~
~~470~~
~~471~~
~~472~~
~~473~~
~~474~~
~~475~~
~~476~~
~~477~~
~~478~~
~~479~~
~~480~~
~~481~~
~~482~~
~~483~~
~~484~~
~~485~~
~~486~~
~~487~~
~~488~~
~~489~~
~~490~~
~~491~~
~~492~~
~~493~~
~~494~~
~~495~~
~~496~~
~~497~~
~~498~~
~~499~~
~~500~~
~~501~~
~~502~~
~~503~~
~~504~~
~~505~~
~~506~~
~~507~~
~~508~~
~~509~~
~~510~~
~~511~~
~~512~~
~~513~~
~~514~~
~~515~~
~~516~~
~~517~~
~~518~~
~~519~~
~~520~~
~~521~~
~~522~~
~~523~~
~~524~~
~~525~~
~~526~~
~~527~~
~~528~~
~~529~~
~~530~~
~~531~~
~~532~~
~~533~~
~~534~~
~~535~~
~~536~~
~~537~~
~~538~~
~~539~~
~~540~~
~~541~~
~~542~~
~~543~~
~~544~~
~~545~~
~~546~~
~~547~~
~~548~~
~~549~~
~~550~~
~~551~~
~~552~~
~~553~~
~~554~~
~~555~~
~~556~~
~~557~~
~~558~~
~~559~~
~~560~~
~~561~~
~~562~~
~~563~~
~~564~~
~~565~~
~~566~~
~~567~~
~~568~~
~~569~~
~~570~~
~~571~~
~~572~~
~~573~~
~~574~~
~~575~~
~~576~~
~~577~~
~~578~~
~~579~~
~~580~~
~~581~~
~~582~~
~~583~~
~~584~~
~~585~~
~~586~~
~~587~~
~~588~~
~~589~~
~~590~~
~~591~~
~~592~~
~~593~~
~~594~~
~~595~~
~~596~~
~~597~~
~~598~~
~~599~~
~~600~~
~~601~~
~~602~~
~~603~~
~~604~~
~~605~~
~~606~~
~~607~~
~~608~~
~~609~~
~~610~~
~~611~~
~~612~~
~~613~~
~~614~~
~~615~~
~~616~~
~~617~~
~~618~~
~~619~~
~~620~~
~~621~~
~~622~~
~~623~~
~~624~~
~~625~~
~~626~~
~~627~~
~~628~~
~~629~~
~~630~~
~~631~~
~~632~~
~~633~~
~~634~~
~~635~~
~~636~~
~~637~~
~~638~~
~~639~~
~~640~~
~~641~~
~~642~~
~~643~~
~~644~~
~~645~~
~~646~~
~~647~~
~~648~~
~~649~~
~~650~~
~~651~~
~~652~~
~~653~~
~~654~~
~~655~~
~~656~~
~~657~~
~~658~~
~~659~~
~~660~~
~~661~~
~~662~~
~~663~~
~~664~~
~~665~~
~~666~~
~~667~~
~~668~~
~~669~~
~~670~~
~~671~~
~~672~~
~~673~~
~~674~~
~~675~~
~~676~~
~~677~~
~~678~~
~~679~~
~~680~~
~~681~~
~~682~~
~~683~~
~~684~~
~~685~~
~~686~~
~~687~~
~~688~~
~~689~~
~~690~~
~~691~~
~~692~~
~~693~~
~~694~~
~~695~~
~~696~~
~~697~~
~~698~~
~~699~~
~~700~~
~~701~~
~~702~~
~~703~~
~~704~~
~~705~~
~~706~~
~~707~~
~~708~~
~~709~~
~~710~~
~~711~~
~~712~~
~~713~~
~~714~~
~~715~~
~~716~~
~~717~~
~~718~~
~~719~~
~~720~~
~~721~~
~~722~~
~~723~~
~~724~~
~~725~~
~~726~~
~~727~~
~~728~~
~~729~~
~~730~~
~~731~~
~~732~~
~~733~~
~~734~~
~~735~~
~~736~~
~~737~~
~~738~~
~~739~~
~~740~~
~~741~~
~~742~~
~~743~~
~~744~~
~~745~~
~~746~~
~~747~~
~~748~~
~~749~~
~~750~~
~~751~~
~~752~~
~~753~~
~~754~~
~~755~~
~~756~~
~~757~~
~~758~~
~~759~~
~~760~~
~~761~~
~~762~~
~~763~~
~~764~~
~~765~~
~~766~~
~~767~~
~~768~~
~~769~~
~~770~~
~~771~~
~~772~~
~~773~~
~~774~~
~~775~~
~~776~~
~~777~~
~~778~~
~~779~~
~~780~~
~~781~~
~~782~~
~~783~~
~~784~~
~~785~~
~~786~~
~~787~~
~~788~~
~~789~~
~~790~~
~~791~~
~~792~~
~~793~~
~~794~~
~~795~~
~~796~~
~~797~~
~~798~~
~~799~~
~~800~~
~~801~~
~~802~~
~~803~~
~~804~~
~~805~~
~~806~~
~~807~~
~~808~~
~~809~~
~~810~~
~~811~~
~~812~~
~~813~~
~~814~~
~~815~~
~~816~~
~~817~~
~~818~~
~~819~~
~~820~~
~~821~~
~~822~~
~~823~~
~~824~~
~~825~~
~~826~~
~~827~~
~~828~~
~~829~~
~~830~~
~~831~~
~~832~~
~~833~~
~~834~~
~~835~~
~~836~~
~~837~~
~~838~~
~~839~~
~~840~~
~~841~~
~~842~~
~~843~~
~~844~~
~~845~~
~~846~~
~~847~~
~~848~~
~~849~~
~~850~~
~~851~~
~~852~~
~~853~~
~~854~~
~~855~~
~~856~~
~~857~~
~~858~~
~~859~~
~~860~~
~~861~~
~~862~~
~~863~~
~~864~~
~~865~~
~~866~~
~~867~~
~~868~~
~~869~~
~~870~~
~~871~~
~~872~~
~~873~~
~~874~~
~~875~~
~~876~~
~~877~~
~~878~~
~~879~~
~~880~~
~~881~~
~~882~~
~~883~~
~~884~~
~~885~~
~~886~~
~~887~~
~~888~~
~~889~~
~~890~~
~~891~~
~~892~~
~~893~~
~~894~~
~~895~~
~~896~~
~~897~~
~~898~~
~~899~~
~~900~~
~~901~~
~~902~~
~~903~~
~~904~~
~~905~~
~~906~~
~~907~~
~~908~~
~~909~~
~~910~~
~~911~~
~~912~~
~~913~~
~~914~~
~~915~~
~~916~~
~~917~~
~~918~~
~~919~~
~~920~~
~~921~~
~~922~~
~~923~~
~~924~~
~~925~~
~~926~~
~~927~~
~~928~~
~~929~~
~~930~~
~~931~~
~~932~~
~~933~~
~~934~~
~~935~~
~~936~~
~~937~~
~~938~~
~~939~~
~~940~~
~~941~~
~~942~~
~~943~~
~~944~~
~~945~~
~~946~~
~~947~~
~~948~~
~~949~~
~~950~~
~~951~~
~~952~~
~~953~~
~~954~~
~~955~~
~~956~~
~~957~~
~~958~~
~~959~~
~~960~~
~~961~~
~~962~~
~~963~~
~~964~~
~~965~~
~~966~~
~~967~~
~~968~~
~~969~~
~~970~~
~~971~~
~~972~~
~~973~~
~~974~~
~~975~~
~~976~~
~~977~~
~~978~~
~~979~~
~~980~~
~~981~~
~~982~~
~~983~~
~~984~~
~~985~~
~~986~~
~~987~~
~~988~~
~~989~~
~~990~~
~~991~~
~~992~~
~~993~~
~~994~~
~~995~~
~~996~~
~~997~~
~~998~~
~~999~~
~~1000~~

Crusade, First, 163-165, 173;
 second 174; third 209-211;
 children's 218, 227; Hungarian,
 218; of Frederick II 225-229;
 of the king of Navarre 230, 231;
 of Louis IX 231-239, 256
 Crystal 110, 111, 122, 147
 Cubit 26

- Cup-bearer 247
 Cup, magic 193
 Curfew trumpet 100
 Currency 340
 Curse, public, 69
 Custom dues 303, 304, 339, 340,
 349
 Cyprus 217, 218, 228, 232, 269,
 286, 320, 336-339
 Cyriacus 27
 Cyrus, patriarch, 7, 11, 13
- D = dinär, half-a-guinea 6
 Dahabiya, state, 148
 Damascus 66, 67, 72, 73, 75, 76, 82,
 84, 85, 87, 88, 105, 106, 113, 114,
 150, 158, 159, 160, 161, 174-177,
 183-185, 199, 205, 211, 213-215,
 229-231, 256, 258, 262, 264, 273,
 278, 280, 283, 287, 295-297, 329,
 330, 332, 333, 334, 353; inscr.
 212, 242, 276, 277, 324
 Damietta (Dimyāt), 9, 10, 13, 41,
 76, 112, 114, 151, 155; siege by
 Crusaders 192; siege by John of
 Brienne 219-224; by Louis IX
 232-239; 250, 304, 336
 Damsis 9
 Darāzi, founder of Druzes, 132, 133
 Dār-el-'Adl 242
 Dār-el-Hadīth 230
 Dār-el-'ilm or Hikma 130, 131
 Dār-el-Ma'mūn 173, 204
 Dares 9
 Dārūm 159
 Davis, Rev. E. J., 233, 238
 Daw 271
 Dāwūd, k. of Nubia, 271
 Dāwūd b. Hubeyth, vice-gov., 53
 Dāwūd b. Yezid b. Hātim, gov., 52
 ed-Dāya, Ibn-, 71
 Dead Sea castles 197, *see* Karak
 and Shawbek
 Death, Black, 320
 Debik 112, 122, 148
 Dehlek 339
 Derbesāk 267
 Dereksa 233
 Derenbourg, H., 171, 172, 175
 Deylemis 141
- Dhukā er-Kūmī (Ducas), gov., 79
 Dhū-l-Fikār sword 148
 Dhū-l-Kadr 310, 321, 335, 346, 347,
 352, 353
 Dilīya b. Mus'ab, rebel, 33, 34
 Dikes 157, 203
 Dimity (Dimyātī) 112
 Dimrū 144
 Diplomas 247, 291, 294
 Diplomatic 27, 297
 Dirghāmī 175-178
 Diseases, isolation of contagious, 273
 Dispatches 188, 246
 Diu 352
 Diwān mufrid 128
 Diyā-ed-din Yūsuf 312
 Diyār-Bekr 352
 ed-Dizherī 159, 160
 Djem, Prince, *see* G'em
 Docks 112, 120, 123
 Dome of the Air, 31, 63
 Dome of the Rock (Kubbat-es-
 Šakhra), Jerusalem, 190, 270, 324
 Domentianus, praeses of Arcadia, 4,
 9, 10
 Dongola, siege, 21, 271
 Doorkeeper, grand, 250
 Dozy, R. P., 36
 Drum, magic, 160
 Drummery 248; lords of, 248
 Druzes 133, 134, 297, 308
 Dukāk 163
 Dultibea 308
 Dureyd, Ibn-, 149
- EARTHQUAKES 81, 88, 216, 301,
 302
 Edessa 163, 174, 229; architects 152
 Edward Plantagenet 269, 270
 Election of sultan 290
 Elephants in Egypt 41, 122, 271
 Embāba 355
 Embassies 109, 180, 265, 280, 288,
 297, 299, 300, 337, 338, 354
 Emeralds 41, 111, 147, 148; mines
 304
 Emīr-Akhōr 247
 Emīr-'Alam 246, 248
 Emīr-Bābdār 250
 Emīr-el-G'uyūsh 151

- Emir-el-Kebir 247
 Emir-Meglis 247
 Emir-Shikār 247
 Emir-Tahar 247
 Emir-Tabikhānāh 248
 Enamel 147
 English at Damietta 222
 Engraved work 147
 Ephraim, patriarch 119
 Equerry 247
 Erekli 335
 Erment 41
 Esnē 41, 61
 Eunuchs 42, 34, 38, etc.
 Exchequer 122, 157
 Eyla 14, 192
 Ezbek, emir 323
 Ezibek (Üzibek) el-Visufi 323, 343
 EL-FĀDIL, Küdī, 193, 204, 205,
 212, 214
 el-Fadī, general, 129
 el-Fadī b. Sālih, gov., 30, 50, 52
 Fahd 123
 el-Fāiz, Fātimid caliph, 172, 175
 el-Fakahānī, mosque. 117
 Fakhr-ed-din 213, 232, 235, 243
 Fālūs 304
 Falconry 171, 250, 316
 Famagusta (Magusa) 336
 Fāmiya see Apamea
 Famine 97, 101, 104, 135, 143 :
 seven years' 146 : 215, 273, 289
 Farag, en-Nāṣir, Burğī sultan, 332-
 335 ; khānākāh and tomb, and
 inscr. 323
 el-Faramā (Pelusium), siege 2, 82,
 106, 165
 Fāreskūr 238
 el-Fārisī, tomb, 212
 Farmer of revenues 19
 Fasting 292, 341
 Fātima, chapel of, 242
 Fātimids caliphs 79-81, 83, 89, 90,
 95-193 ; their pedigree 95, 108,
 116, 118
 el-Fayyūm 3, 4, 9, 15, 80, 81, 300 ;
 mosque and inscr. 323
 Feast of Sacrifice 113, 119, 126, 135
 Febronia 28
 Fellāhīn 18, 157, 253
 Festivities 251-252
 el-Feth, battle, 30, 57
 Féve, La (el-Fūla) 207
 Fez (Fes) 97, 99
 Filāwīs 270
 Fields 30, 244
 Fire, Greek, 234
 Firuz 160
 Firuz, maidress, 323
 Fisheries 43
 Flag of truce 102
 Flags, Treasury of the, 148
 Fleet, Arab, 23, 76, 80, 82 ;
 Fātimid 97, 107, 112, 120, 121,
 133 ; Saūdin's 206 ; Mamlük
 209, 320, 336, 338, 339
 Fouquet, Dr. 44, 47, etc.
 France, coast burned by Fātimids,
 97 ; diplomatic relations with
 206, 231, 300, 310
 Francis of Assisi 241
 Frederick Barbarossa 209
 Frederick II 213, 225-229, 235
 French at Damietta 222
 Freshwater canal 20
 Frontier of Egypt, see el-'Arish,
 Aswān, Barjā, Hit, Sawākin
 el-Fūla (La Féve) 207
 Fulcher, Geoffrey, 180
 Furār, Iba-, 101, 104, 106, 265
 el-Fustār (Mīṣr) 14, 17, 30, 31,
 49, 88, 101, 102, 103, 108, 115,
 119, 132, 133, 140, 141, 143,
 149, 177, 179, 183 ; burnt 184 ;
 187, 195
 Fūwa 316
 GABES (Kibis) 197
 Gābir b. el-Ash'ath, governor, 54
 Gāfar b. Fellāh, general, 105, 106,
 158
 el-Gā'i el-Yūsufi, tomb of emir, 276
 Gākmak, er-Zāhir, Burğī sultan,
 323, 340, 341, 342, 346 ; mosque
 323 ; inscriptions 323, 324
 Gālüd, Ayn, 262
 Gāmdir (master of the wardrobe) 247
 Games 126, 147
 Gānbālat b. Yeshbek, emir, 348

- Gānū-bek el-Ablaķ 338; mosque 323
 Gardens of Cairo 195, *see* Kāfür el-G'arğārāī, wezīr, 136, 148
 el-G'arrāḥ, Ibn-, calligrapher, 188
 •G'arrāḥ family 159
 G'āshneżir (taster) 247, 288
 Gates of Cairo 117, 152, *see* Bāb G'awhar er-Rūmī, founder of Cairo, 99-108, 111, 122
 Gaza (Għażza) 161, 175, 176, 231, 257, 261, 262; inscr. 277, 324
 Gazelle Valley 179
 G'ebela, inscriptions, 277
 G'ekem, emīr, 334
 G'elāris 332
 G'em sultan (Prince Djem) 347
 G'emāl-ed-din el-İlhalabī, historian, 66, 122, 165
 el-G'emālī *see* Bedr
 G'enēd 197
 Genoa taken by Fātimids 97
 Genoese 320, 338
 George the Cyprian 3
 Georgian troops 279
 G'erbāsh, admiral, 336
 Germans at 'Akka 209, 217; at Damietta 222, 224
 el-G'esūra 278
 G'eyhūn river 267, 347
 G'eysh b. Khumāraweyh, Tūlūnid, 75
 Gezīrat-es-Şinā'a (Rōda) 26
 Ghānim, tomb of, 323
 Ghāshiya 249
 Ghawth b. Suleymān, kādi, 40, 50, 51, 52
 Ghāzān, İlkhān, 295-299
 el-Ghūrī, el-Ashraf Ḳānsūh, Burğī sultan 349-354; mosques and other buildings 323; inscr. 324
 Ghūriya 350
 G'idda (Jedda) 339, 340, 350
 Giraffe 41, 271, 273
 Girgis, G'ureyġ, George, son of Menas, *see* Muḳawķis
 Girls, massacre of, 136
 el-G'iza 30, 43, 102, 107, 129, 141, 170, 304; camp 80; fleet at 82; like 203; bridge 323; pyramids 38
 G'izya (poll-tax) 5, 7, 19, 25, *see* Taxes
 Glass 112, 141, 147, 314; glass stamps and weights 14, 27, 44, 47-53, 117, 124, *see* list of illustrations
 Golden Horde, Khāns of, 265, 266, 273, 277, 281, 282, 299, 308, 332
 Golden House 26
 Gothic gateway 302
 Governors, provincial, 18-58
 Granaries 143, 312
 Grave-stones 14, 59
 Greek slaves 110; sultans 325; troops 155, 121, 341
 Grooms 247
 Guard, body-, 61, 71, 75, 243 ff.
 Guard, Young, 156, 167, 171
 G'ubeyl 161, 165
 G'ubeyr, Ibn-, 204
 G'uff, the Ikhshid, 82
 Guğrāt, king of, 352
 G'ükandār (polo-master) 247, 249, 302
 G'urdik 185
 Guy of Lusignan 208, 209
 el-G'uyūshī mosque 117
 el-G'uyūshīya troops 168
- HABIB B. ABĀN**, marshal, 52
Hadramawt 138
 el-İlāfiż, Fātimid caliph, 140, 166-171
 İlāfīs b. el-Welid, marshal, 47, 48; governor 48, 49
 İlāfsids of Tunis 308
 İläggī, eṣ-Ṣāliḥ and el-Manṣūr, Bahri sultan, 254, 330
 Haifa 210, 218
 Hair, women's, sent in supplication, 173, 184
 Haithon 267
 el-Hakam of Cordova 35
 el-Hākim, 'Abbāsid caliph of Egypt, 265, 287
 el-Hākim, Fātimid caliph, 119, 123-134, 150, 187, 188; mosque 117, 123, 129, 189, 196, 276, 302; inscriptions 117, 276

WDEX

- Hawkin 247
 Hawks, birdsguard 252; *see also* Hawk
 Hall of Columns 375
 Hall of Science 370, 371
 Hammurabi 20, 21, 25, 30, 31,
 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39
 Hammurabi's laws 31
 Hammurabi, king 30
 Hamza, son of Muhammad 20
 Hamza, son of Islam 20
 Hanafi school 30
 Hananiah b. Hizqiah, governor 47, 48
 Haran of Jerusalem and 243
 mosque 243; inscriptions 243
 244, 245, 246
 Harawayat, Em., King 244, 245
 Haroun 247
 Haroun al-Rashid 247, 248
 Haroun al-Rashid, marshal 247
 Haroun 247, 248
 Harthama b. Arwa, gov. 53
 Harthama b. al-Nadr, gov. 57
 Harun a. Khumayzah, William
 25, 26
 Harun al-Rashid, 'Abdallah 247
 24, 25, 247
 Harun al-Rashid, King 247, 248
 Hassa 248
 Hassa Bazaar, 307
 el-Hassan, Fatimid pretender, 206
 Hassa en-Nisir, Bahri sultan 335;
 mosque and tomb 335, 336;
 mosque 337, 338
 Hassa b. Ahmad, Karimai 205, 213
 Hassa b. el-Bilq 108
 Hassa, brother of Ikhshid, 57
 el-Hassan b. et-Takhtah, gov. 54
 el-Hassan b. Yezid, marshal, 47, 52
 el-Hasaneyn, mosque, 212
 Hashim b. 'Abdullah, marshal, 51,
 54
 Hashish 273
 Hassan b. 'Atâhiya, governor and
 vice-governor 49
 Hassan b. Daghfal, rebel, 159, 160
 Hatim, governor, 31
 Hâtim b. Harthama, gov., 54, 57
 Hawâîd-Khanâh 248

Hawdawî 206
 Hawîf eastern letter 24, 25, 26, 27,
 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 42, 73, 74
 Hawking 274, 284, 300
 Hâl-Hâlîn, in Egypt 378, 381
 Hayyan b. Shureyh, treasurer 47
 Hebron 207, 247
 Heliodorus (Ayyûn-Shems) 4, 5, 101,
 113, 145
 Henry II of Champagne 209, 216, 217
 Henry II of Cyprus 210
 Henry VI, emperor 217
 Herodotus 242
 Hieromâne Collection of Coins 55
 Hier Bay v. 24, 252
 Hierachies 3
 Hieroglyphs 205, 243, 244, 279
 Hierusalem, gateway, Tâbil, medi-
 eval 202, 279
 Hilâl, sun tribe 256
 Hilâl b. 'Abîz, governor, 79
 Hilâl dates 25
 Hilâl Emam 152, 159, 205, 213,
 215, 221, 222, 272, 279, 295,
 300; inscription on tomb of
 Khalid 242
 Hindostan 300
 Hissâ-el-Alâk (Crac des Chevaliers)
 207, 209
 Hisnates under Fatimids 187
 Hit 24
 Hîmîn 202, 211
 Holy Land or Palestine
 Honey 160
 Hor inscription at Mt., 277
 Horse breeding 316; racing 43,
 250, 316
 el-Hoseyn, caress of, 148; martyr-
 dom 92, 115
 el-Hoseyn, admiral, 352
 el-Hoseyn b. Gâ'îhar 128
 el-Hoseyn b. Gâ'îml, governor, 54
 el-Hoseyn b. 'Obeydallâh, Ikhshid-
 did, 59, 101, 105
 Hoseyn, mosque of emir, 276
 Hospital, Knights of the, 205, 219,
 225, 269, 270, 278, 281, 286, 287,
 see also Rhodes
 Hospitals 283-4

- Houses 139
 Housing 249
 Howorth, Sir H. II., 242, 296, 298
 Hubeyra b. Hāshim b. Iludeyg,
 marshal, 55
 Huḡeyra, Ibn-, kādī, 47
 Hugh of Caesarea 180, 181, 182
 Hugh III of Cyprus 269
 Hugh of Tiberias 205
 Hūlāgū 261, 262
 Hulaguids 264, *see* Īlhāns
 Hulwān 26
 Humeyd, governor, 32
 Humphrey of Toron 200
 el-Ilurr b. Yūṣuf, governor, 48
- IBELIN, Baldwin and Balian of,
 205; John of 268
 Ibn- *see* under second word
 Ibrāhīm of Karamān 346
 Ibrāhīm b. el-Bekkā, kādī, 54
 Ibrāhīm b. el-Gārrāḥ, kādī, 55, 56
 Ibrāhīm b. Ishāk, kādī, 55
 Ibrāhīm b. Khumārawayh 78
 Ibrāhīm b. el-Mu'ayyad 335
 Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ, governor, 51, 52
 Ibrim (Primis) 197
 'Id (Bairam) 109
 'Id-el-Maghtas 86
 Idrisiids 95
 İldəguz 151
 el-Ikhshid, Mohammad b. Ṭughīq,
 governor, 81-86
 İkhshidids, 86-89, 105, 107, 113
 İkrima b. 'Abdallāh, marshal, 49,
 50; vice-gov. 50
 İl-Ğazlı, Ortukid, 164
 İlhāns of Persia 264, 265, 266,
 270, 271, 275, 288, 295-299, 307
 Illuminations 86
 Imām, Twelfth, 167
 Imāmate 93 ff., 108
 Imāmians 167
 Import duties 304, *see* Trade
 'Imrān b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān, mar-
 shal and kādī, 46
 īnal, el-Ashraf, Burğī sultan, 338,
 341, 346; medresa 323; in-
 scriptions 324; solar quadrant
 323
- Ināl el-Vüsufī, medresa, 323
 Incendiaryism 311
 India, 281, 310
 Indian slave 160
 Indian trade 303, 339, 340, 350, 352
 Industries 112, 122
 Inscriptions 14, 59, 117, 212, 242,
 276, *see* headings of chapters
 Intoxicating liquors 126, 273, *see*
 Beer, Wine
 Investiture 265, 291, 294
 Iridescent manufactures 112
 Irrigation 18, 20, 157
 'Isā b. Abī-'Atā, treasurer, 49
 'Isā b. Mansūr, governor, 56, 57
 'Isā b. Mohammad, gov., 78, 79
 'Isā b. el-Munkadir, kādī, 40, 56
 'Isā b. Nestorius, wezīr, 120, 121,
 128
 'Isā b. Yezid, governor, 56
 Isabella of Jerusalem 217, 218
 Isfehsälär 156
 Isfendiyär, Ibn-, 56
 Ishāk b. el-Furāt, kādī, 53
 Ishāk b. Kundāgik 72, 73, 74
 Ishāk b. Suleymān, governor, 53
 Ishāk b. Yaḥyā (Khūt), gov., 57
 Ismā'il b. 'Isā, merchant, 52; gov.
 53
 Ismā'il b. Ṣāliḥ, governor, 53
 Ismā'il b. Sume'y, kādī, 51
 Ismā'il *see* ey-Ṣāliḥ
 Ismā'ilians *see* Assassins
 İtāsh, fiefsee, 30, 57
 'Iyādh b. 'Abdallāh, kādī, 47
 'Iyādh b. Hayrama, marshal, 48
- J: for Arabic words beginning with
 J see G'
- Jacobe church 2, *see* Copts
 Jacob's Ford 205
 Jaffa (Yāfa) 106, 107, 164, 165, 210,
 211, 217, 218, 220, 267, 268
 Jahāngir 255
 Jerusalem 128, 136, 143, 161, 163,
 164, 192, 198, 208, 210, 211,
 217-219, 222, 224-228, 259, 266,
 267, 287, 300, 306, 344, *see*
 Haram, Crusades, Baldwin,
 Amalric, etc.; inscr., 277, 324

INDEX

- Jews 11, 70, 126, 137, 300, 301, 344, 349
 John of Brienne 218, 222, 225
 John II of Cyprus 338
 John of Mârûs 3
 John the Monk 152
 John of Nikiu 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13
 John, St., church at Alexandria, 8 ;
 monastery at Cairo 140
 Joinville 226, 232 ff., 239, 250
- KĀ'BA 145 ; covering for 112, 113
 Kābis (*Gabes*) 107
 Kādi, chief, 18, 38, 39, 40, 45-58,
 104, 119, 156, 187
 Kādis, four, 274
 Kāfur Abū-l-Misk 84, 87-90, 101 ;
 garden of 85, 103, 109, 125 ;
 inscription 77
 el-Kālhūl, Ibn-, kādi, 152
 el-Kāhir, 'Abbāsid caliph, 82
 el-Kāhiir 263
 el-Kāhir (Mars) 103
 el-Kāhira *see* Cairo
 el-Kāim, Fātimid caliph, 80, 97,
 98, 148
 Kāit-Bey, el-Ashraf, Burğī sultan,
 336, 342-349 ; medresas and
 other buildings 323, 344 ; in-
 scriptions 323-324
 Kal'at-el-Kebsh 237
 Kāl'at-el-Kūm 287
 Kālā'ün (Kilāwün), el-Manṣūr,
 Bahri sultan 277-284 ; mosque
 and hospital 276, 302 ; inscrip-
 tions 276, 277, 323 ; family of
 244, 254, 276-322
 el-Kalkashandi, historian, 154, 184,
 303
 Kalmün 148
 Kalyüb 6 ; rosaries at 166
 Kamhiya college 204
 el-Kāmil, Ayyūbid, 201, 215, 221-
 230, 240, 241, 257 ; medresa 212,
 230
 el-Kāmil el-Hunāï, marshal, 54
 el-Kāmil *see* Sha'bān
 Kāmilîya college 230
 Kānsüh 323, 349 ; *see* Ghūrī
 Kāntemir, decree, 323
- Karabaček, J., 6
 Karak 197, 207, 257, 260, 261, 272,
 277, 279, 305, 330 ; inscr. 242,
 276, 277
 Karākūsh, wezīr, 193, 203, 251
 Karamān 271, 335, 346, 347
 Karâsunķur, emîr, 289
 Karâ-Yūsuf 332
 Karkar 347
 Karkisiyā 68, 272
 Karmati's *see* Carmathians
 Kasim-emîr-el-mu'minîn 263
 Kāsim el-Bekri, kādi, 54
 el-Kāsim b. 'Olçeydallâh, treas., 29,
 48
 el-Kasîr, painter, 111
 el-Kasîr 23
 Kasr-el-Ablak 315
 Kasr-esh-Shema' 17, *see* Babylon
 el-Katâ'i', Ilân-Tülün's capital, 63,
 74, 76, 105
 Katr-en-Nedî 74
 Kāwshûn, emîr, 312, 318 ; mosque
 276, 314 ; solar quadrant 323
 Kay, II. C., xi, 117
 Kāyrawân 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 107,
 110, 138
 Kāyşarıya (Caesarea) 270, 271, 335
 Kay-Khusru 266
 Kay-Kubâd 229
 Kebsh, castle of, 237
 Keening women 43
 Kelbis of Sicily 138
 Kemenîga 249
 Kennâ, Abû-Negâh b., 166
 Kenz, Arab tribe, 29, 308
 Kenz-ed-dawla 308
 Kerâfa 131, 204 ; mosque 111, 123
 Kesta Spytiotes 70
 Ketbughâ, el-'Adil, Bahri sultan,
 248, 262, 288-290, 292 ; inscr.
 277
 Keys, Arab tribe, 28, 33, 35
 Keys b. Sa'd 25, 45
 Keysûr 147
 Khalang javelins 148
 el-Khalangî, Mohammad, rebel, 78,
 79
 Khaldîrân 352, 353
 Khaldûn, Ibn-, 6

- Khālid, tomb of, at Hims, 242
 Khālid b. Ḥabib, vice-governor, 50
 Khālid b. Yezīd, marshal, 52
 Khalifs *see* Caliphs
 Khalīq (canal of Cairo) 20, 112
 Khalīl, el-Ashraf 284-288; tomb 276; inscr. 277
 Khalīl, Umm- 255
 el-Khalīl, Ibn-, poet, 188
 Khalīkān, Ibn-, 70, 123, 175, 220, 240
 Khān-el-Khalīl 245
 Khān *see* Golden Horde, Ilkhāns
 Khānakāh 314
 el-Khandāk 115
 Kharāg (land-tax) 6, *see* taxes
 Kharibūt 24
 Khārigī b. Hudheysa, marshal, 45
 Khārigīs 31, 32
 Khartibīt 347
 Khatt lances 148
 Khedivial library 44
 Kheȳ bek, emīr, 342, 354, 355; mosque 323
 Kheȳ b. No'eym, kādi and vice-governor, 48, 49, 50
 Khīdr, el-Mes'ūd, Ayyūbid, 277
 el-Khiyār b. Khālid, kādi, 48
 Khubāsa, Fātimid general, 80
 Khumāraweyh, son of Ibn-Tūlūn, 71-75
 Khūshkādam ez-Zāhir, Burğī sultan, 325, 328, 329, 338, 341; inscriptions 324
 Khūt, Ishāk b. Yahyā, 57
 Khuṭba (bidding-prayer) 69, 103, 104, 109, 193
 Khuzeyma, Abū-, kādi, 40, 50, 51
 Khwārizm 273
 Khwārizmians 231
 Kiğmās, mosque of emīr, 323
 Killis, Ibn-, wézir, 101, 114, 120, 121, 186, 187
 Kināna, Arab tribe, 232, 233
 el-Kindī 20, 28, 187
 Kingsford, C. L., 287
 Kipchak 263, 265, 278, 310
 Kipchak, emīr, 298
 Kirfa, Ibn-, 168
 Kirwāsh el-'Okeyli 159
- Kiryawī 10
 Kitāma Berbers 95, 124, 125, 128, 133, 141, 145
 Kitchen 166, 248, 327, 335
 Knighting of Muslims by Christians 200, 201, 213
 Korāns, illuminated, 149, 273, 314
 Kubbat-el-Hawā (Dome of the Air) 31, 63
 Kubbat-es-Şakhra *see* Dome of the Rock
 el-Kudā'i 187
 Kuśic inscriptions 189, *see* headings of chapters
 Kuft 41
 Kuğük, mosque of, 276
 Kulthüm, Sitta, 115
 Kulzum 20, 41, 42, 106
 Kumiz 273
 Kundāgik, Ibn-, governor of Mōṣil, 72, 73, 74
 Kurdistān 206
 Kurds 171, 191, 207, 320
 Kurra, Arab tribe, 128, 132
 Kurra b. Sharik, governor, 26, 47
 Kursī zarīn 162
 Küş 41, 157, 183, 271, 300
 Kuseyr 41, 304
 Kutlūbughā, mosque, 276
 Kutluğshāh 298
 Kuțuz, el-Mużaffar, Bahri sultan, 261, 262, 272, 273
- EL-LAG'İN**, battles of, 83, 87
 Lāğin, el-Manṣūr, Bahri sultan, 253, 285, 289-294; cistern 276; inscr. 277
 Lahī'a el-Hadramī, kādi, 55
 Lahī'a, Ibn-, kādi, 40, 51
 Lakhm, Arab tribe, 36, 38, 176
 Lamps, enamelled, 314; market of, 141
 Land assessment 114; grants of 244, 250; land tax 114, 142, 143, 151, 303, 344, *see* Taxes
 Lane, E. W., 275, 284
 Lane-Poole, S., *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 111, 112, 242, 244, 276, 278, 284; *Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights* 117, 190; *Catalogue*

- of Oriental Coins* 242, 255, 276 ;
Lisje of Saladin, 111, 174, 176, 191,
197, 199, 214
Larendo 335
Larnaka 337
Latakia (el-Lādhikīya) 281 ; inscr.
277
Lavoix, H., 89
Lay figure 165
Lebda 68
Lewātā Berbers 146, 151
Leylat-el-Ghitās 85
el-Leyth b. el-Fadl, governor, 53
Library, Alexandrian, 12 ; Fātimid
130, 131, 149, 193 ; Mamlük 284
Libya 24
Limasol (Lēnsün) 269, 336, 337
Lion, tame, 75 ; of Beybars 263
Literature 90, 91, 186-188, 230,
240, 326, 328
Looms 112
Lord of the Drums 248
Lord of the Seat 247
Lorenço, son of Almeida, 352
Louis VII of France, 174 ; Louis
IX 231-239, 256 ; Louis XII 195
Lu'lū 68
Lu'lū of el-Mōṣil 260
Lu'lū, Ibn-, 159
Luxury 74, 89, 250-252, 302, 313,
318
MĀDARĀNĪ treasurers 77, 79-82
Māgūr 66
Magusa (Famagusta) 336
Mahalla, canal of, 238
Mahdi, the, 94, 167
el-Mahdi, 'Abbāsid caliph, 53
el-Mahdī, 'Obeydallāh, 1st Fātimid
caliph, 95-97
el-Mahdiya 98, 137, 138
Mahfūdh b. Suleym, treasurer, 53
el-Mahrūsa 103
el-Makrizī 17, 21, 27, 48, 65, 90,
111, 152, 167, 173, 204, 250,
251, 253, 255, 259, 265, 279, 281,
296, 340
Maḳs, dock, 112, 120 ; mosque 129
Malatīya 330
Mālik b. Delhem, governor, 54
Mālik b. el-Ilārīth 45
Mālik b. Keydar, governor, 57
Mālik b. Sharābil, ḥāfi, 46
Mālikī school 31, 136
Malukhiya 126
el-Māmāy, palace of emir, 323
Mamlūks (white slaves) 60, 71, 235,
237, 239, 242-257
el-Ma'mūn, 'Abbāsid caliph, 35, 36,
37 ; in Egypt 37, 38 ; 56, 147
el-Ma'mūn el-Baṭāḥī, wezir, 131,
162, 166, 173
Manasseh, secretary, 120
el-Mandakūr b. Kurkub 5
Manfalūt 304
Manfred 266
Mangāk, mosque of emir, 276
Mangūtegin 159
Mangūtimür, Mongol general, 279,
280
Mangūtimür, wezir, 293, 294
Manṣūr b. Veził, governor, 51
el-Manṣūr, 'Abbāsid caliph, 32
el-Manṣūr, Fātimid caliph, 98
el-Manṣūr b. el-'Azīz 215
el-Manṣūr see 'Abd-el-'Azīz, 'Alī,
Hāggī, Kalā'ūn, Lāqīn, 'Oth-
mān
el-Manṣūra 223, 232-237, 243
el-Manṣūriya 98, 103, 107
Mandel the Armenian 20
Manufac'ures 112, 122, 147
Manuscripts 149
Manzara (belvedere) 170
Map of the world 111, 148
Marakiya 281
Mar'ash 287
Marche, Count of 222
Marco Polo 263, 269
Marg 'Adhrā 87
Marg Dābiķ 353
Marg 'Oyūn (Mergion) 205
Marg-es-Suffar 298
Margaret of Tyre 281
el-Māridānī, mosque, 276, 314
Māridīn 332
Māristān Kalā'ūn 283-284, 323
Markab (Margat) 217, 269, 270,
278, 281 ; inscr. 276
Marriage dot 74

- Marshal or commander-in-chief 18, 45-58
 Marwān I and II in Egypt 29, 30
 Marwān b. Marwān, marshal, 49
 Marwān, Ibn-, *see* 'Abd-el-'Azīz,
 'Abd-el-Melik, Mo'awiya
 Mary the Copt 6
 Mary of Jerusalem 218
 Mas Latrie, Comte de, 338, 339
 Masūl, Ibn-, wezir, 171
 Maslāma b. Mukhāllad, gov., 26, 46
 Maslāma b. Yāhiyā, governor, 52
 el-Maṣṣīṣa 66, 270
 Masters of the Halberds, of the
 Horse, of the Household, of the
 Wardrobe, 247
 Masts, battle of the, 23
 el-Mas'ūdī visits Egypt 85, 86
 Mausoleum, Fātimid, 110
 el-Medina 15, 20, 23, 84, 105, 114,
 148, 265, 272, 308, 339
 el-Medina (Cairo) 109
 Medresa or collegiate mosque 204,
see list under Mosques
 el-Meqnūn 341
 Nehren, Prof., 226
 Mekka 69, 84, 88, 105, 114, 123,
 138, 148, 159, 265, 272, 308, 320,
 337-340, 344, 350; pilgrimage
 302, 312, 318; forbidden 32
 Melekite church 2, 119, 266
 Melik, title of wezirs, 169
 Melik Shāh, Seljuk sultan, 161, 163
 Melons, 'Abdallāhī, 37
 Memlūd, Abū-Şāliḥ ibn-, gov., 33,
 51
 Memphis 3
 Men of the Pen and of the Sword 155
 Menagerie 63, 75
 Menas 10, 15; *see* Muḳawķis
 Mercurius, St., ch., 119
 Mesopotamia 190, 199, 200, 206,
 207, 213-215, 229, 262, 265, 266,
 320, 331
 el-Mes'ūd Yūsuf 257
 el-Mes'ūd *see* Khīḍr
 Meteors 81
 Meydān (horse-course) 63, 74
 Meymūn b. es-Sarī, marshal, 55
 Michael IV, emperor, 136, 160
 Michael VIII Palaeologus 266
 el-Mihmendār, mosque, 276
 Military tyranny 118
 Milne, J. G., 6, 18
 Mint 18, *see* Coins
 Mintāsh, emir, 326, 330-333
 Minya 181
 Miracles 96, 97
 Mirdāsids 160
 Miska, Sittā, mosque, 276
 Miskaweyh, Ibn-, 42
 Missionaries, Muslim, 94-96, 99
 Miṣr 3; siege by Arabs 4-9: coin
 49, *see* el-Fuṣṭāṭ
 el-Mo'allaka church 17, 301
 Mo'awiya, first Omayyad caliph, 24
 Mo'awiya b. Hudey়, marshal, 45
 Mo'awiya b. Marwān, treas., 50
 Mo'awiya b. Ṣurad, marshal, 53, 54
 Mohammad the Prophet, sword of,
 148
 Mohammad II of Turkey 346, 347
 Mohammadi 'Alī 201
 Mohammad el-Kummī 41
 Mohammad b. 'Abd-el-Melik, gov.,
 47
 Mohammad b. 'Abd-er-Rahmān b.
 Hudey়, vice-gov., 51; gov. 51
 Mohammad b. Abī-Bekr, gov., 45
 Mohammad b. Abī-l-Leyth, kādi,
 57
 Mohammad b. el-Ash'ath, gov., 50
 Mohammad b. 'Assāma, marshal,
 54, 45
 Mohammad b. G'eld, marshal, 54
 Mohammad b. Isā, marshal, 56
 Mohammad b. Kabis, marshal, 55
 Mohammad b. Māsrūk, kādi, 53
 Mohammad b. Mo'awiya, marshal
 and vice-gov., 50
 Mohammad b. Nizār, Fātimid pre-
 tender, 162
 Mohammad b. 'Oḳba, marshal, 56
 Mohammad b. 'Omeyr, marshal, 56
 Mohammad b. es-Sarī, governor, 55
 Mohammad b. Suleymān, general,
 76
 Mohammad b. Taghlak, sultan of
 Dehli, 310
 Mohammad b. Ṭāhir, marshal, 79

INDEX

- Mohammad b. Taṭṭar, Burği sultan. 336
- Mohammad b. Tekin, governor, 79
- Mohammad b. Tulā, marshal, 54
- Mohammad b. Tughq̄ el-Ikhshid, 79, *see* Ikhshid
- Mohammad b. Ziyād, treasurer, 54
- Mohammad b. Zuheyr, gov., 52
- el-Mohammadiya 98
- Mohtesib 104, 156, 312
- el-Mo'izz, Fātimul caliph 98-118, 148; daughters of 147
- el-Mo'izz of Mahdiya 137, 138
- el-Mo'izz *see* Aybek
- Mo'izz-ed-dawla, Mirdāsid, 160
- el-Mo'izziya 103, 130, 162
- Monasteries 26, 107, 140, 170, 187, 311
- Mongols 259, 261, 262, 264-266, 269, 271, 279-282, 295-299, 307, 330
- Monks, Coptic, 29, *see* Monasteries
- Monogamy 100
- Monophysite church 2, *see* Copts
- Monopolies 43, *see* Trade
- Montfort, Simon of, 231
- Montréal (Shawlik), 197, 257, 272
- el-Müsīl 123, 199, 206, 214
- Mosques of Cairo with dates of foundation (medresas or collegiate mosques marked *; tomb mosques †) :—
- * Abd-el-Bāsit (1420) 323
 - * Abd-el-Ghāni (1418) 323
 - † Abd-er-Rahmān 242
 - * Abū-Bekr b. Muzhir (1480) 323
 - * Ākbughā (1334) 276
 - el-Ākmar (1125) 117, 166, 169
 - Āksunkur (1347) 276
 - Almās (1330) 276
 - Al-melik (1319) 276
 - † Anas (1382) 323
 - * Arghūn (1348) 276
 - el-Ashraf Sha'bān (1368) 276
 - Aslam (1346) 276
 - * Aytmiss (1383) 323
 - el-Azhar (970-972) 117, 276; inscr. 117, 242, 324
 - * Barkūk (1386) 323, †(1401-11) 323
 - * Bars-Bey (1424) 323, †(1432) 323
- Mosques of Cairo—*continued*.
- * İlyktar, el-Zāhir (1362) 242, †(1267-69) 242
 - Beybars Gāshnegir, Khānākāh (1310) 276
 - Beydar 276
 - Ezīk (1475)
 - Ezbek el-Vūsafī (1495) 323
 - el-Fadawīya (1481) 323
 - el-Fakahāni (1148) 117
 - † Farāq (1401-11) 323
 - tel-Fārisī (1225) 212
 - * Firūz (1427) 323
 - tel-Gā'ī el-Vūsafī (1373) 276
 - Gākmak (1449) 323
 - Gāni-Bek (1427, †1465) 323
 - † Gemäl-ed-din (1408) 323
 - † Ghānim (1478) 323
 - tel-Ghāri (1503, †1504) 323
 - el-Gāvīshi (1085) 117
 - el-Hākim (990-1003) 117, 276; inscr. 117, 276
 - † Hasan, sultan (1356-62) 276
 - el-Hasaneyn (old, 1235), 212
 - * el-Higāziya (1360) 276
 - Hoseyn (1319) 276
 - Ibn-Kuzzik (1160) 117, 276; inscr. 276
 - Ibn-Tūlūn (877) 59, 63, 65, 276; inscr. 117, 150
 - * Ināl el-Yūsufī (1392) 323
 - * Ināl (1451-56) 323
 - † Ismā'il (1216) 212
 - ** † Kāit-Bey (1474, 1475) 323, 344
 - † Kalā'un (1284 — 1303) 276, 283-284; inscr. 277
 - * el-Kāmil (1224) 212
 - Kāni-Bey (1441) 323
 - Kāni-Bek emir Akhōr (1503) 323
 - Kāni-Bek Karū (1506) 323
 - † Kānim (1466) 323
 - † Kānsuh (1499) 323
 - Kawṣūn (1329) 276
 - † Khalil (1288) 276
 - Kheyr-Bek (1502) 323
 - Kığmās (1481) 323
 - Kugük (1346) 276
 - Kutlubugħā (1348) 276
 - Mangak (1350) 276

Mosques of Cairo—*continued.*
 †el-Māridānī (1338) 276
 el-Mihmendār (1325) 276
 Miska, Sitta (1339) 276
 el-Murayyad (1420) 323
 *Mukbil (1395) 323
 *en-Nasir Muhammad (1299; 1318) 276, 302, 314; inscr. 276
 Nefisa, Sitta, 115, 195, 261; inscr. 117
 Ordutegin Khātūn (1324) 276
 †Rezmek (1504) 323
 *eş-Sālih Ayyūb (1243) 212, †(1250) 242
 Sarhītmish (1327) 276
 *Sengār el-Gāwālī and Salār (1323) 276, 314
 †Sheger-ed-durr (1257?) 242
 †esh-Shāfi'ī (1211) 212
 Sheykhan (1350-55) 276, 314
 *Sūdūn (1402) 323
 †Tāshītmur (1334) 276
 *Taghri-Berlī (1440) 323
 *Taybars (1309) 276
 Timrūz (1472) 323
 †Tinkiz (1363) 276
 †Tulliyā (1364) 276
 †Tūmān-Bey el-Adil (1501) 323
 †Zeyn-ed-dīn Yūsuf (1298) 276
 Mosque of Constantinople 266
 Mosque of Pity 21
 el-Mo'tasim, Fātimid pretender, 193
 el-Mo'tasim, fieftee and gov., 37, 56
 el-Mo'temid, 'Abbāsid caliph, 69, 73, 74
 Mu'adh b. 'Azīz, marshal, 56
 el-Mu'ayyad, Burğī sultan, 327, 328, 334-336, 346; mosque 323; inscriptions 323, 324
 el-Mu'ayyad *see* Ahmad
 el-Mu'azzam b. el-'Ādil, Ayyūbid, 215, 221, 225, 226
 Mudebbir, Ibn-, treasurer, 43, 57, 58, 61, 66, 67, 71
 el-Mufaddal b. Fudāla, kādī, 40, 52, 53
 el-Mughīra b. 'Obeydallāh, gov., 49
 el-Mughīth 'Omar 257, 260, 261, 272

el-Muhāgīr b. 'Othmān, marshal, 50
 Mu'in-ed-dīn 270
 Muir, Sir W., 317
 el-'Mu'izz *see* el-Mo'izz
 el-Muqāṭṭam hills 31, 75, 131, 134, 195
 el-Mukawkīs, George, son of Menas, 3, 6, 7-9
 Mukhārik, Ibn-el-, marshal, 55
 el-Mukhtara, palace, 85
 Mukīs, Abū-l-, marshal, 53
 Mukla, Ibn-, 149
 Mumīmīs 86
 Mūnis, general, 81
 el-Muntasir, fieftee, 30, 57
 el-Muntaṣar, the expected Imām, 167
 Mura, Arab tribe, 279
 Mūsā el-Hanafī, governor, 57
 Mūsā b. 'Isā, governor, 31, 34, 35, 52, 53
 Mūsā b. Ka'b, governor, 50
 Mūsā b. Mu'sab, governor, 34, 52
 Mūsā b. 'Olayy, gov., 32, 33, 51
 Mūsā b. Zarīk, marshal, 51
 Mūsā *see* el-Ashraf
 el-Musebbīhī 187
 Muslim, Abū-'Ubaydah, 102
 Muslim b. Bekkār, marshal, 53
 el-Mustadī, 'Abbāsid caliph, 190
 el-Musta'in, 'Abbāsid caliph of Egypt, 335
 el-Musta'i, Fātimid caliph, 161
 el-Mustansir, 'Abbāsid caliph of Egypt, 265
 el-Mustansir, Fātimid caliph, 136-154, 160
 el-Musta'im, 'Abbāsid caliph, 255
 el-Mustekfī 305
 el-Mutanebbī 88
 el-Mutawakkil, 'Abbāsid caliph, 41
 el-Mutawakkil, last caliph of Egypt, 355
 el-Mutī', 'Abbāsid caliph, 106
 el-Muttaķī, 'Abbāsid caliph, 84
 el-Muṭalib b. el-Khuzā'ī, governor, 55
 el-Muwaqqāt, 30, 63, 66-69, 72-74
 el-Mużaffar b. Keydar, marshal and governor, 56

- el-Mugaffar *see* Ahmad, Beybars II,
Kutuz
Muzāhib b. Khākān, governor, 58
- EN-NĀG'IRĀMI 187
Nahyū, monastery of, 170
Nāib-es-Saltāna 247, 261, 288
Naphtha tubes 296
en-Nāṣir, 'Abhāsīd caliph, 190
en-Nāṣir, caliph of Cordova, 112
en-Nāṣir of Damascus 230 n., 256,
258-261, 268
en-Nāṣir Mohammad b. Kala'ūn
248, 284, 288, 289, 292, 294-317,
342, 344; medresa and mosque
276, 302, 314; inscriptions 276
en-Nāṣir Yūsuf 257
en-Nāṣir *see* Farāq, Ilāsan
Nāṣir-ed-dawla b. Ijlālān 145,
146, 148, 149, 150, 160
Nāṣir-i-Khusrau 121, 130, 162
Nāṣiriya (Sherifiya) College 204
Naṣr (Keydar), governor, 56
Naṣr b. 'Abīlās 171, 172, 173
Naṣr b. Kulthūm, treasurer, 52
Naṣr, Bāb-en-, *see* Bāb
Natron mines 43, 304
Navarre 231
Nawfal b. el-Furāt, treasurer, 50
Nawrūz, emir, 334, 335
Nazareth 220, 227, 207
Nefisa, Sitta, 115, 195, 201; inser.
117
Nevers, Count of, 222
Nicephorus, emperor, 159
Nigla 335
Nights, Thousand and One, 251
Nikiu 4, 8, 9, 21, *see* John of Nikiu
Nikosia 337
Nile festival 86, 301
Nilometers 26, 43, 63, 65, 112, 117
Niẓām-el-mulk 341
Niẓār, el-Muṣṭafā 162
Nobles, mamlik, 245
en-No'mān 187, 188
en-No'mān, Ibn-, 119
Normans in Sicily 138
Nubia 5, 6, 15, 21-23, 27, 41, 42,
88, 105, 120, 143, 197, 271, 282,
299, 308, 320
- Nür-ed-din 174-177, 193, 196-199,
204, 242, 283
Nür-Jahān 255
Nuṣeyrīs (Anṣāriya) 308
en-Nuweyri, historian, 265, 269,
296, 298
- OASES 304
'Obeydallāh el-Mahdī 95-97
'Obeydallāh ef-Tarsūsī, marshal, 54
'Obeydallāh b. el-Habbāb, treas.,
27, 47
'Obeydallāh b. el-Mahdī, gov., 53
'Obeydallāh b. el-Mahdī, Fātimid
general, 98
'Obeydallāh b. es-Sarī, marshal and
governor, 36, 56
'Obeydallāh ibn Zeynel, gov., 54
Observatory 131
Officers of state 43, 155, 156, 247;
of the army 342
'Okha b. 'Amīr, vice-governor, 45;
governor 46
'Okha b. Maslāma, vice-gov., 47
'Okha b. No'eym, marshal and
vice-governor 48
'Okeyl b. el-Mo'izz 114
'Okeyl, Arab tribe, 106
'Okeylids 159
Oman, C. W., 223, 236
'Omar, second caliph 1, 10, 15, 20;
mosque of 227
'Omar, gov., 35
'Omar, Taki-ed-dīn, Ayyūbid, 213
'Omar b. Ghaylān, treasurer, 52
'Omar *see* el-Mughith
'Omāra 186, 193, 197, 198
Umayyad caliphs 24, 26; visit
Egypt 29; government 18 ff.;
rebellion 33
Umayyad caliphs of Cordova 123,
128
'Omeyr b. el-Welīd, governor, 56
Ordücēn Khākān, mosque, 276
Ortoes 160
Ortuküüs 164, 229
Osāma b. Mālikīh 171, 172, 174,
175
Osāma b. Zerī, treasurer, 25, 26, 47
'Otba b. Abī-Safyān, governor, 45

- 'Othmān, third caliph, 23, 24
 'Othmān, el-Mansūr, 341, 342
 'Othmān b. Keys, kādi, 45
 'Othmānlı sultans 332, 334, 337, 338, 345-348, 352-357
 Oxen 135
- PAINTINGS 27, 74, 111
 Palace, striped, 315
 Palaces of Cairo 109, 110
 Palestine 105, 106, 159, 160, 161, 163-165, 173-178, 185, 190, 192, 198, 205, 207-211, 217-219, 224-228, 258, 259, 352
 Parasol of state 249
 Passports 27, 281
 Patriarch, Armenian, 170; Coptic, 2, 26, 27, 66, 119, 127, 143, 144
 Pay office 157
 Peacock 148
 Pearl Palace 123, 125
 Pelagius, cardinal, 222
 Pelusium (el-Faramī) siege 2, 82; road to Cairo 223
 Pensions 145
 Pepper monopoly 340
 Perfume-burner 302
 Perrières 234
 Persia 264, *see* Ilkhāns
 Persian artists 111, 112
 Perwāna 270, 271
 Peter of Lusignan 320
 Philip Augustus 210, 222
 Philip VI 310
 Philoxenos 15
 Physicians 70, 157, 168
 Pictures, sacred, 27, *see* Paintings
 Pigeon post 246, 280
 Pigs in Nubia 197
 Pilgrim Castle (*Mons Perigrinus*) 218
 Pirates 335, 336
 Plague 97, 101, 104, 136, 143, 146, 216, 289, 318, 320, 328
 Poets 142, 157, 188, 249
 Poll-tax 5-7, 12, 15, 19, 25, *see* Taxes
 Polo 167, 247, 264, 292
 Polo-bearer 247
 Poor-tax 25, 71
 Popes 217, 218, 225, 228, 241, 310
- Population 6, 15, 28, 29
 Ports *see* Alexandria, Damietta, Būlāk, Kulzum, Kuseyr, Maks, Sawākin; access to Christian 279
 Portuguese 350, 352
 Post 246, 264
 Pottery 112, 141, 147
 Presents 108, 109, 273
 Primis (Ibrīm) 197
 Princess Royal (Seyyidet-el-mulk) 120, 134, 139
 Prisoners 337
 Prize-money 337
 Progresses, state, 141, 248-250, 292, 299
 Provinces of Egypt 152, 157
 Pyramids 203
- QUADRANTS, solar, 323
 Quarries, alumi, 304
 Quatremère, E., 3, 36, 92, 117, 242, 263, 265, 269, 276, 281, 282, 296, 311
 Queens, Muslim, 255, *see* Sheger-ed-durr
 Quicksilver lake 75
 Quince-cider 89
- RABWA, inscription, 117
 Races, intermixture of, 15, 29
 er-Rādi, 'Abbāsid caliph, 82
 er-Rāfiqa 68, 73
 Rāfiq, Ibn-, 83
 Raisins 126
 er-Rakka 66, 67, 68, 73, 84, 160
 Ramadān 123, *see* Fasting
 Ramadān principality 335
 er-Ramla 72, 78, 105, 106, 159, 164, 165, 205, 210, 211, 218
 Ransom 337
 Ra's-Nawba 247
 er-Rashīd, usurping caliph, 159
 Rāshida mosque 129
 er-Rastan, battle at, 84
 Rasūlids of Yemen 308, 339, 340
 Rayān 113, 114
 Raymond, count of Tripolis, 199, 205, 207
 Red Sea 192, 350, 352
 Regent 341

- Reginald of Châtillon 207, 208
 Rent of houses 139, and shops 140
 Rest-houses 76, 101
 Restoration of mosques 302
 Resurrection, church of the, 128, 136, 143, 160
 Revenue of Egypt 6, 19, 25, 36, 65, 66, 151
 Reyhâniya troops 168
 Rhinoceros 122
 Rhodes, knights of, 320, 338
 Richard I 209-211, 213, 220
 Richard of Cornwall 231
 Rîf (delta) 10, 15
 Rîziya 255
 Robert, count of Artois 234, 235
 Robes 103, 265
 er-Rôda (er-Kawda) island 7, 43, 63, 108, 141, 166; castle 237, 243, 258; medresa 323
 Rogers, E. T., 60
 Roman architecture 153
 Romans, East (er-Rûm), 2-13, 20, 21, 23, 36, 41, 70, 74, 114, 120, 147, 159, 192, 281
 Rosetta 350
 Rudolf of Habsburg 281
 Rudwân, Selçûk, 163
 Rudwân, wezir, 152, 169
 er-Rûm see Romans, East
 Rûmiya regiment 155
 Ruzzik b. Talâ'i, wezir, 176
 Ruzzik, Ibn-, see Talâ'i
- SABIN, Ibn-, 226
 Sabra 98
 Sacrifice, Feast of, 2, 13, 41
 Sa'd el-A'sar, general, 72, 73
 Sadaka 137
 Saddle cloth 249
 Safed 230, 267, 306, 329
 Šafwân, Ibn-, governor of Karķisiya, 68
 Šâg, Ibn-Abî, governor of Anbâr, 73
 es-Šahbâ, Abû-, b. Hassân, marshal, 51
 Šahyûn 306
 es-Sâib b. Hishâm, marshal, 45, 46; kâdi 46
- es-Šâ'id (Upper Egypt) 20, 22, 29, 30, 33, 34, 41, 66, 88, 192, 259
 es-Šâ'id *see Baraka*
 Sa'îl, Ibn-, 140, 240
 Sa'idib. Yezid, governor, 46
 Sakhâ 9, 32, 38
 Sâki 247
 Saladin (Şalâh-ed-dîn) 139, 149, 169, 173, 177, 178, 181-183, 185-186, 188, 190-211, 242; inscriptions 190
 Salâr, emîr, 294-296, 298, 300, 302, 304-306; medresa and tomb 276
 es-Sâlîr, Ibn, wezir, 171, 174, 188
 Sale of governments 329
 es-Sâlih Ayyûb 220, 230, 231, 237, 241, 243, 255, 257, 258, 263; medresa and tomb 242
 es-Sâlih Ismâ'il, son of 'Adil, 229, 230, 258
 es-Sâlih *see* Talâ'i b. Ruzzik
 Sâlih b. 'Ali, 'Abbâsid general, 30, 31; governor 50
 Sâlih b. Mirdâs 159, 160
 es-Sâlih b. Nûr-ed-dîn 199, 200, 206
 Sâlih b. Shîrzâd, treasurer, 56
 Sâlih b. 'Abd-el-Kerîm, marshal, 54
 es-Sâlihiya 257
 Sâlim b. Sawâda, governor, 51
 Sâmarrâ 63, 65, 69, 73
 San'a 197
 Šanga 41
 Sanhâga Berbers 107, 137
 Saphadin (Seyf-ed-dîn) *see* el-'Âdil
 Sarâi 308
 Sardâniya 107
 Šarghitmish, emîr, 318; mosque 276
 es-Sâri b. el-Hakam, governor, 55
 Sarkhad 292, 330
 Sarrasin, J. P., 235
 Sarûg 160
 Satin 249
 Sawâkin 272, 308, 339, 350
 Schisms in Islâm 31, 38, 39
 Science, Hall of, 204
 Secretaries 247
 Selûmish, el-'Âdil, 277
 Selîm I, Osmânlî, 352-355
 Selîm, Ibn-, 21
 Selgûks 139, 143, 160, 161, 163-165,

- 242 ; of Rūm 196, 199, 206, 229, 266, 271, 274
 Semennūd 9, 32, 238
 Sengār el-Gāwālī, mosque, 276, 314
 Sengar esh-Shugā'ī 288, 289
 Severus, bishop of Ushmuneyn, 119
 Seville 266
 Seyf-ed-dawla 84, 85, 87
 Seyf-ed-din 199, 200
 Seyyidet-el-mulk 120, 134, 135
 Sha'bān *see* el-Ashraf
 Sha'bān, el-Kāmil, Bahri sultan, inscr. 277
 esh-Shābushtī 187
 Shāfi'ī, Imām 204 ; tomb 212 ; school of 31, 39, 188, 204
 Shāh Siwār 347
 Shakhal 298
 Sharāb-khānāh (buttery) 248
 Sharīma 233
 Shāwar, wezir, 176-186
 Shawbek (Montréal) 257, 272, 306 ; inscr. 277
 Sheger-ed-durr, Queen, 237-239, 242, 255-258, 260, 261
 Shekenda 271
 Shekif Arnūn (Belfort) 230, 268
 Shemamun, k. of Nubia, 282
 Shemsiya 112
 Sherifs 106, 108, 159, 272, 337
 Sheybān, son of Ibn-Tūlūn 76, 77
 Sheykh-el-Islām 327
 Sheykhis, village, 18
 Sheykhū, 318 ; mosque 276, 314
 Sheyzar 72, 159, 160 ; inscr. 277, 324
 Shi'a, 31, 92 ff., 104, 115, 130, 132, 138, 191
 Shībboleth, Egyptian, 300
 Shinūda 15
 Ships, Arab, 23, 71
 Ships 121, 155, *see* Fleet
 Shirkūh, general, wezir, 177-186
 Shops 140, 141 ; title-deeds 59
 Shu'eyb b. el-Hāmid, marshal, 47
 Sicily 97, 111, 112, 138, 174, 198, 226, 266, 281
 Sidon 163, 217, 267, 287, 335
 Siege engines 234
 Sigilmāsa 96, 99 ;
- es-Silafī, theologian, 188
 Silāhdūr 247, 290
 Silk 112, 249
 Sīnā et-Tawīl 66
 Sīnān 159
 Sīs 270
 Sīwās 332
 Slav regiment 155
 Slave revolt 136
 Slavonic 99
 Slipper-bearer 247
 Society 251, 252
 Spain, immigrants from, 35, 36 : raid on 112
 Sport 250, 267, 316
 Squires of the chamber 166
 Stamps on glass jottles 27, 44, 47-53, *see* list of illustrations
 Steps, Gate of the, 201
 Südān 5, 6, 15, 21-23, 27, 41, 42, 88, 105, 129, 143, 197, 271, 282, 299, 308, 320
 Südānī queen-mother 137, 144
 Südānī troops 63, 110, 118, 132, 133, 141, 145, 146, 151, 155, 168, 173, 192, 197
 Südün, emir, 323
 Suez 304
 Sūfis 314
 Sugar-cane 312
 Suhey 237
 Sük-ed-dik 240
 Sük-en-Nahjāsīn 85, 109, 314
 es-Sukkara pavilion 142
 Sukmān 164
 Suleyhids 138
 Suleym b. 'Itr, treasurer and kādī, 45
 Suleymān b. Ghālib, marshal, 54 ; governor 55
 Suleymān b. es-Simma, marshal, 53
 Sulphur springs 26
 Sultan, duties of, 246-250
 Sulṭeys 15
 Sumptuary laws 126, 127, 301
 Sunkūr, el-Kāmil, 278
 Sunnis 31
 Sūs 271
 es-Suyūtī, historian, 142
 Swallows, omen from, 295

- Swimming 250, 270
 Swordmakers, college of, 173, 204
 Swords, famous, 148
 Syria 66, 82, 158-165, 201-211,
 225-231, 266-270, 295-299, 329,
 etc., *passim*
 Syrian troops 150, 151, 164
- TABARDÅRS** 247, 249
et-Talâri, historian, 5, 6, 8, 10, 45 ;
 MSS. of 149
Tabûṭâbâ family 108
Tabl-khânâh 248
Tabor, Mt., 218 ; inscription 212
Taby *see* 'Attâbi
Taghûzhân Turks 60
Taghri-Berdî, medresa, 323
Tâhart 97
Tâhir, Abû-, el-A'ragî, kâdî, 52
Tâlâ'i b. Ruzzîk, es-Şâlibî, wezîr,
 173, 175, 176, 177, 189 ; mosque
 117, 276, 302 ; inscription 276
Tamweyh 26
Tarâbiyya 304
Tarsûs 60, 66, 70, 73, 75, 76, 80,
 82, 88, 336, 346, 348
Tâshemir 318 ; mosque 276
Taster 247
Tâtar, ez-Zâhir, Burğî sultan, 336
Tatars *see* Mongols, Golden Horde
et-Tawâhîn (The Mills) 72
Taxes 5, 6, 12, 15, 19, 25, 43, 66,
 71, 90, 114, 143, 151, 166, 273,
 291, 303, 304, 312, 344, 349
Taybars, medresa, 276
Tayy, Arab tribe, 106, 113
Tekbîr 11
Tekîn el-Khâssâ, governor, 79, 80,
 82
Tekrit 191
Tell-G'ezer 205
Temîm b. el-Mo'izz 114, 140
et-Temîmî 187
Templars, knights, 172, 205, 219,
 225, 234, 235, 267, 279, 286, 287,
 299
Tendûnyâs, conquest, 3, 4
Tents, royal, 148, 249, 250
Terenuthis 10
Teutonic knights 219
- eth-Thâîr 129
Thenaud, Jehan 195
Theodora, empress, 143
Theodorus, prefect augustal, 9, 10
Theodosius, duke of Thebaid, 3
Theophanes 7
Thouasne, L., 348
Tiberias 208, 230
Timûr (Tamerlane) 331-334
Timurbugha, ez-Zâhir, Burğî sultân, 325, 341
Tinkiz, tomb, 276
Tinnis, 9, 41, 82, 106, 112, 114,
 151, 165, 174
Tisht-khânâh 248
Title-deeds of shôf's 59
Titles, mamlûk 253
Töktañish 332
Tomb-mosques *see* mosques
Tûr 304
Toron (Tubnîn) 217
Tortosa (Antaradus, Antartûs) 163,
 266, 279
Torture 68, 84, 288, 329
Touching for sickness 283
Tower, Red, 261
Trade 240, 266, 303, 313, *see*
 Custom dues
Trade, Indian, 339, 340, 350, 352
Treasure, buried, 66, 86 ; of Fâti-
 mids 111, 147, 148, 285, 307
Treasurer 18, 19, 45-58, 65, 77
Treasury 156
Treaty of Mîṣr 5, 6 ; with Nubians
 21-23 ; with Amalric 179-181 ;
 between Ikhshid and Ibn-Râîk
 83 ; Ikhshid and Seyf-ed-dawla
 85 ; with European powers 266,
 279, 281
Tribute 7, 11, 15, 22, 23, 41, 65,
 69, 83, 85, 87, 304 ; from Cyprus
 338 ; to Jerusalem 177
Tribute of slaves *see* Bakt
Tripolis (Barbary) 68, 107, 138, 308
Tripolis (Syria) 114, 158, 159, 163,
 165, 208, 217, 218, 227, 266, 269,
 281, 306, 320, 329, 335, 336 ;
 inscriptions 277, 324
Truffles 122
Tulâ b. Nemir, kâdî, 48

Tubnîn (Toron) 217
 Tughg 82, *see* Ikhshid
 Tughril Beg 143, 160
 Tughegin 165
 Tûlbiya 308; tomb 276
 Tulugma tactics 279
 Tûlûn, Ahmad ibn, governor, 26,
 60-71, 304; mosque 195, 292
 Tûmân-Bey el-Âdil, Burî sultan,
 tomb, 323; inscription 324
 Tûmân-Bey el-Ashraf, Burî sultan,
 354, 355; inscription 324
 Tunis 308, 337
 Tûrâns'hâh, Ayyûbid, 197
 Tûrâns'l âh b. eç-Şâlih, Bahri sult-
 tan 237-239
 Turbans 122, 148, 280
 Turcopoles 182
 Turkish governors 30, 33, 42, 82;
 guard 242; language 341; troops
 37, 118, 125, 132, 133, 137, 141,
 145 ff., 151, 252
 Turkmans 177, 197, 271, 279,
 310, 330, 335, 337, 345; *see*
 Selgûks
 Turkmâns of the Black Pelt 332
 Turkmâns of the White Pelt 346
 Turunçâi 285
 Tustar 137, 148
 Tutûsh, Selîgûk, 161, 163
 Tûzün 84
 Tyre 159, 161, 163, 165, 208, 210,
 246, 267, 268, 281, 287
 Tzimisces 114

UIRAT TATARS 294, 295

Ukhwâwâna 160
 Ulgâitû, Ilkhûn, 299
 Umbrella bearer 156
 Umm-Duneyn or Danîn 3
 Üngûr Abû-l-Küsîm b. el-Ikhshid
 86, 87
 Ushmûn, canal of, 233
 Ushmuneyn 80, 114, 119, 173
 Ustâd (Ustâdh) 87, 124
 Ustâddâr 247
 Ustâddâr-es-Suhba 248
 Uzbegs 308
 Uzbek, emîr, *see* Ezbek
 Ozûn Hasan 346, 347

VENETIANS 320, 337, 340; treaties
 with 218, 240
 Vestâry 248
 Viceroy 247, 261, 288
 Victory, Gate of, *see* Bâb-en-Nâşr
 Vines 126
 Vizier *see* wezir
 Vogüé, Vte. de, 190
 Volga 265, 308

Wâni, governor, 51
 Wâdi-el-Khâzindâr 295
 Wailing at funerals 43
 Wakf 177
 el-Wâkidi, historian, 3, 13
 Walls of Cairo 117, 140, 152, 190,
 201
 War, Holy, 207 ff., 217 ff., 231 ff.
 Wardân 6
 el-Wâsîti 61
 Wealth 111, 121, 147, 165, 285,
 307, 313
 Wedding expenses 316
 Weights, glass, 44, 47-53
 Weil, G., 242, 269, 272, 276, 310,
 317, 348
 Wekâlas 323, 344
 el-Welîd b. Rîfâ'a, marshal, 47;
 governor 48
 Well of the Winding Stairs 203
 Wezir 99, 101, 104, 117, 120, 121,
 124, 128, 142, 144, 155, 166,
 177, 180, 247
 Wezir, Abu-l, treasurer, 57
 Wezirs, palace of, 121, 193
 William Longsword 235
 William of Tyre 177, 181, 182, 201
 Winchester, earl of, 222
 Wine 26, 43, 126, 251, 273, 288,
 297, 312, 341
 Women, regulations affecting, 43,
 126
 Woollen stuffs 112
 Wüstenfeld, F., 24, 92, 117, 122,
 154, 304

YâFA *see* Jaffa
 Ya'kûb b. Killis, wezir, 101, 114,
 120, 121
 Ya'kûbî 19

- Yânis 84
 Yânis, wezir, 167
 Vâhyâ b. Meymün, kâdi, 47, 48
 Yazmûn 73
 Yâzûr 165
 el-Yâzûrî, wezir, 111, 137, 142-144,
 148
 Vel-Bey, ez-Zâhir, Burgi sultan,
 341
 Yelbughâ, emîr, 318, 330
 el-Vemen 123, 138, 197, 220, 257,
 272, 308, 310, 320, 339
 Yesibek, emîr, 334; palace 323
 Veshkûr, hill, 63
 Yezid b. 'Abdallâh, gov., 42, 57
 Yezid b. Hâni, marshal, 50
 Yezid b. Hütim, governor, 32, 50
 Yolande, heiress of Jerusalem, 225
 Yule, Sir II., 269
 Yûnus, marshal, 56
 Yûnus b. 'Atîya, marshal and kâdi,
 46
 Yûsuf, el-'Azîz, 341
 Yûsuf, Zeyn-ed-din, tomb-mosque,
 276

 ez-ZâHIR, Fâtimid caliph, 170, 171,
 173
- ez-Zâhir, Fâtimid caliph, 134-136,
 148, 159
 ez-Zâhir, son of Saladin, 213, 214,
 215
 ez-Zâhir *see* Barkûk, Beybars, Gâk-
 mak, Khûshkâdam, Taşar, Timur-
 bughâ, Yel-Bey
 Zâhiri mamluks 278
 Zawîla gate 117, 262, 289, 326, 355
 Zelîd 197
 Zemizem 145
 Zeng 69
 Zengî, Atâbeg of Mûşil, 173, 174,
 191
 Zengids 199, 200, 206, 207, 214
 Zeyd b. 'Abd-el-'Azîz, marshal, 53
 Zeyn-el-'Âbidîn, mosque, 63
 Zeyneb, Ibn-, governor, 54
 Zeyrids 107
 Zimâmdârs 247
 Ziyâdat-Allâh 95
 Zotenberg, II., 4
 ez-Zubeyr 3, 5, 6
 ez-Zubeyr, Ibn-, 188
 Zuheyr *see* Bahâ-ed-din
 Zülâk, Ibn-, 187
 Zunnârî 249
 Zur'a 128
 Zuweyla Gate *see* Zawîla

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS
 PUBLISHED BY METHUEN
 AND COMPANY: LONDON
 36 ESSEX STREET
 W.C.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
General Literature,	2-24	Little Library,	32
Ancient Cities,	24	Little Quarto Shakespeare,	33
Antiquary's Books,	25	Miniature Library,	33
Arden Shakespeare,	25	New Historical Series,	34
Beginner's Books,	26	New Library o. Medicine,	34
Business Books,	26	New Library of Music,	34
Byzantine Texts,	26	Oxford Biographies,	34
Churchman's Bible,	26	Romantic History,	34
Churchman's Library,	27	School Examination Series,	35
Classical Translations,	27	School Histories,	35
Classics of Art,	27	Simplified French Texts,	35
Commercial Series,	27	Simplified German Texts,	35
Connoisseur's Library,	28	Six Ages of European History,	36
Handbooks of English Church History,	28	Standard Library,	36
Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books,	28	Textbooks of Science,	36
Junior Examination Series,	29	Textbooks of Technology,	37
Junior School-Books,	29	Handbooks of Theology,	37
Leaders of Religion,	30	Westminster Commentaries,	37
Library of Devotion,	30	Fiction,	37-45
Little Books on Art,	31	Books for Boys and Girls,	45
Little Galleries,	31	Novels of Alexandre Dumas,	46
Little Guides,	32	Methuen's Sixpenny Books,	46

MARCH 1910

A CATALOGUE OF MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

In this Catalogue the order is according to authors. An asterisk denotes that the book is in the press.

Colonial Editions are published of all Messrs. METHUEN's Novels issued at a price above 2s. 6d., and similar editions are published of some works of General Literature. Colonial editions are only for circulation in the British Colonies and India.

All books marked net are not subject to discount, and cannot be bought at less than the published price. Books not marked net are subject to the discount which the bookseller allows.

Messrs. METHUEN's books are kept in stock by all good booksellers. If there is any difficulty in seeing copies, Messrs. Methuen will be very glad to have early information, and specimen copies of any books will be sent on receipt of the published price *plus* postage for net books, and of the published price for ordinary books.

I.P.L. represents Illustrated Pocket Library.

PART I.—GENERAL LITERATURE

- Abraham (George D.)** THE COMPLETE MOUNTAINEER. With 75 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- Acatas (M. J.)**. See Junior School Books.
- Addleshaw (Percy)**. SIR PHILIP SIDNEY. With 12 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Adeney (W. F.)**, M.A. See Bennett (W. H.).
- Ady (Cecilia M.)**. A HISTORY OF MILAN UNDER THE SFORZA. With 20 Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Aeschylus**. See Classical Translations.
- Ainsworth (W. Harrison)**. See I.P.L.
- Aldis (Janet)**. THE QUEEN OF LETTER WRITERS, MARQUISE DE SÉVIGNE, DAME DE BOURBILLY, 1646-96. With 18 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Alexander (William)**, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. THOUGHTS AND COUNSELLS OF MANY YEARS. Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d.
- Alken (Henry)**. See I.P.L.
- Allen (Charles C.)**. See Textbooks of Technology.
- Allen (L. Jessie)**. See Little Books on Art.
- Allen (J. Rosamilly)**, F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books.
- Almack (E.)**, F.S.A. See Little Books on Art.
- Amherst (Lady)**. A SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. With many Illustrations and Maps. A New and Cheaper Issue. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Anderson (F. M.)**. THE STORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOR CHILDREN. With 42 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- Anderson (J. G.)**, B.A. NOUVELLE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE, À L'USAGE DES ÉCOLES ANGLAISES. Crown 8vo. 2s. EXERCICES DE GRAMMAIRE FRANÇAISE. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Andrewes (Bishop)**. PRECES PRIVATAE. Translated and edited, with Notes, by F. E. BRIGHMAN, M.A., of Pusey House, Oxford. Cr. 8vo. 6s. See also Library of Devotion.
- 'Anglo-Australism.'** AFTER-GLOW MEMORIES. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Anon.** THE BUDGET, THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6d. net.
- HEALTH, WEALTH, AND WISDOM.** Crown 8vo. 1s. net.
- THE WESTMINSTER PROBLEMS BOOK**. Prose and Verse. Compiled from The Saturday Westminster Gazette Competitions, 1904-1907. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- VENICE AND HER TREASURES**. With many Illustrations. Round corners. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Aristotle**. THE ETHICS OF. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by JOHN BURNET, M.A., Chichesterian. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Assman (H. N.)**, M.A., B.D. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ROME. With Maps and Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. See also Junior School Books.
- Atkins (H. G.)**. See Oxford Biographies.
- Atkinson (C. M.)**. JEREMY BENTHAM. Demy 8vo. 1s. net.
- Atkinson (C. T.)**, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, sometime Demy of Magdalene College. A HISTORY OF GERMANY, from 1713 to 1815. With 35 Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.

- Atkinson (T. D.). ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.** With 196 Illustrations. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.** With 265 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Atttridge (A. H.). NAPOLEON'S BROTHERS.** With 24 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*
- Auden (T.), M.A., F.S.A.** See Ancient Cities.
- Aurelius (Marcus). WORDS OF THE ANCIENT WISE.** Thoughts from Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Edited by W. H. D. Rouse, M.A., Litt. D. *Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
See also Standard Library.
- Austen (Jane).** See Standard Library, Little Library and Milton (G. E.).
- Aves (Ernest).** CO-OPERATIVE INDUSTRY. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Bacon (Francis).** See Standard Library and Little Library.
- Bagot (Richard).** THE LAKES OF NORTHERN ITALY. With 37 Illustrations and a Map. *Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Bailey (J. C.), M.A.** See Cowper (W.).
- Bailem (R. Nisbet).** THE LAST KING OF POLAND AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. With 16 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Baker (W. G.), M.A.** See Junior Examination Series.
- Baker (Julian L.), F.I.C., F.C.S.** See Books on Business.
- Balfour (Graham).** THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. With a Portrait. *Fourth Edition in one Volume. Cr. 8vo. Buckram, 6s.*
- Ballard (A.), B.A., LL.D.** See Antiquary's Books.
- Bally (S. E.).** See Commercial Series.
- Barham (R. H.).** See Little Library.
- Baring (The Hon. Maurice).** WITH THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- A YEAR IN RUSSIA.** *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- RUSSIAN ESSAYS AND STORIES.** *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
Also published in a Colonial Edition.
- Baring-Gould (S.).** THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. With nearly 200 Illustrations, including a Photogravure Frontispiece. *Second Edition. Wide Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- THE TRAGEDY OF THE CAESARS: A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE CAESARS OF THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN HOUSES.** With numerous Illustrations from Busts, Gems, Cameos, etc. *Seventh Edition. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- A BOOK OF FAIRY TALES.** With numerous Illustrations by A. J. GASKIN. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. Buckram, 6s., also Medium 8vo. 6d.*
- OLD ENGLISH FAIRY TALES.** With numerous Illustrations by F. D. BEDFORD. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. Buckram. 6s.*
- THE VICAR OF MORWENSTOW.** Revised Edition. With a Portrait. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- OLD COUNTRY LIFE.** With 69 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition. Large Crown 8vo. 6s.*
- A GARLAND OF COUNTRY SONG:** English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies. Collected and arranged by S. BARING-GOULD and H. F. SHEPPARD. *Demy 4to. 6s.*
- SONGS OF THE WEST:** Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall. Collected from the Mouths of the People. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., and H. FLEETWOOD SHEPPARD, M.A. New and Revised Edition, under the musical editorship of CECIL J. SHAW. *Large Imperial 8vo. 5s. net.*
- A BOOK OF NURSERY SONGS AND RHYMES.** Edited by S. BARING-GOULD. Illustrated. *Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- STRANGE SURVIVALS: SOME CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF MAN.** Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- YORKSHIRE ODDITIES: INCIDENTS AND STRANGE EVENTS.** *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- THE BARING-GOULD SELECTION READER.** Arranged by G. H. Rose. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
- THE BARING-GOULD CONTINUOUS READER.** Arranged by G. H. Rose. Illustrated. *Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
- A BOOK OF CORNWALL.** With 33 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF DARTMOOR.** With 60 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF DEVON.** With 35 Illustrations. *Thisd Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF NORTH WALES.** With 49 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF SOUTH WALES.** With 57 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF BRITTANY.** With 69 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF THE RHINE:** From Cleve to Mainz. With 8 Illustrations in Colour by TREVOR HADDEN, and 48 other Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF THE RIVIERA.** With 40 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF THE PYRENEES.** With 25 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
See also Little Guides.
- Barker (Aldred F.).** See Textbooks of Technology.
- Barker (E.), M.A. (Late) Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.** THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Barnes (W. E.), D.D.** See Churchman's Bible.

MESSRS. METHUEN'S CATALOGUE

- Barnett (Mrs. P. A.). See Little Library.
- Baron (R. R. N.), M.A. FRENCH PROSE COMPOSITION. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. *Ary.* 2s. net.
See also Junior School Books.
- Barren (H. M.), M.A. Wadham College, Oxford. TEXTS FOR SERMONS. With a Preface by CANON SCOTT HOLLAND. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Bartholemew (J. G.), F.R.S.E. See Robertson (C. G.).
- Bastable (C. F.), LL.D. THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS. *Fourth Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Bastian (H. Charlton), M.A. M.D., F.R.S. THE EVOLUTION OF LIFE. With Diagrams and many Photomicrographs. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Batson (Mrs. Stephen). A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN FLOWERS. *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- THE SUMMER GARDEN OF PLEASURE. With 36 Illustrations in Colour by OSMOND PITTMAN. *Wide Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.
- Bayley (R. Child). THE COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHER. With over 100 Illustrations. With Note on Direct Colour Process. *Fourth Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Beard (W. S.). EASY EXERCISES IN ALGEBRA FOR BEGINNERS. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d. With Answers. 1s. 9d.
See also Junior Examination Series and Beginner's Books.
- Beckett (Arthur). THE SPIRIT OF THE DOWNS: Impressions and Reminiscences of the Sussex Downs, and Downland People and Places. With 20 Illustrations in Colour by STANLEY INCHBOLD. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Beckford (Peter). THOUGHTS ON HUNTING. Edited by J. OTHO PAGET, and Illustrated by G. H. JALLAND. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 6s.
- Beckford (William). See Little Library.
- Beeching (H. C.), M.A. Canon of Westminster. See Library of Devotion.
- Beerbohm (Max). A BOOK OF CARCATURES. *Imperial 4to.* 21s. net.
- Begbie (Harold). MASTER WORKERS. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Behmen (Jacob). DIALOGUES ON THE SUPERSENSUAL LIFE. Edited by BERNARD HOLLAND. *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- Bell (Mrs. Arthur G.). THE SKIRTS OF THE GREAT CITY. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by ARTHUR G. BELL, 17 other Illustrations, and a Map. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Bello (H.) PARIS. With 7 Maps and a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Second Edition, Revised.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- HILLS AND THE SEA. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- ON NOTHING AND KINDRED SUBJECTS. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- ON EVERYTHING. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- MARIE ANTOINETTE. With 35 Portraits and Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- THE PYRENEES. With 46 Sketches by the Author, and 22 Maps. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Bellot (H. H. L.), M.A. See Jones (L. A. A.).
- Bennett (Joseph). FORTY YEARS OF MUSIC, 1865-1905. With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 16s. net.
- Bennett (W. H.), M.A. A PRIMER OF THE BIBLE. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Bennett (W. H.) and Adeney (W. F.). A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION. With a concise Bibliography. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Benson (Archbishop) GOD'S BOARD. Communion Addresses. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Benson (A. C.), M.A. See Oxford Biographies.
- Benson (R. M.). THE WAY OF HOLINESS. An Exposition of Psalm cxix. Analytical and Devotional. Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- Bernard (E. R.), M.A. Canon of Salisbury THE ENGLISH SUNDAY: ITS ORIGINS AND ITS CLAIMS. *Fcap. 8vo.* 1s. 6d.
- Berry (W. Grinton), M.A. FRANCE SINCE WATERLOO. With 16 Illustrations and Maps. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Beruete (A. de). See Classics of Art.
- Betham-Edwards (Miss). HOME LIFE IN FRANCE. With 20 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Bethune-Baker (J. F.), M.A. See Handbooks of Theology.
- Bindley (T. Herbert), B.D. THE OECUMENICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE FAITH. With Introductions and Notes. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Binns (H. B.). THE LIFE OF WALT WHITMAN. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Binyon (Mrs. Laurence). NINETEENTH CENTURY PROSE. Selected and arranged. *Crown 8vo.* 6s.
- Binyon (Laurence). THE DEATH OF ADAM AND OTHER POEMS. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
See also Blake (William).
- Birch (Walter de Gray), LL.D., F.S.A. See Connoisseur's Library.
- Birnstingl (Ethel). See Little Books on Art.
- Blackmantle (Bernard). See I.P.L.
- Blair (Robert). See I.P.L.
- Blake (William). THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM BLAKE, TOGETHER WITH A LIFE BY FREDERICK TATHAM. Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with an Introduction and Notes by ARCHIBALD G. B. RUSSELL. With 12 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. With General Introduction by LAURENCE BINNYON. *Quarto.* 21s. net.
See also I.P.L., and Little Library.

- Bloom (J. Harvey), M.A. See Antiquary's Books.
- Blouet (Henri). See Beginner's Books.
- Boardman (T. H.), M.A. See French (W.).
- Bode (Wilhelm), Ph.D. See Classics of Art.
- Bodley (J. E. C.) THE CORONATION OF EDWARD VII. Demy 8vo. 21s. net. By Command of the King.
- Body (George), D.D. THE SOUL'S PILGRIMAGE : Devotional Readings from the Published and Unpublished writings of George Body, D.D. Selected and arranged by J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E. Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d.
- Bona (Cardinal). See Library of Devotion.
- Bonnor (Mary L.). See Little Books on Art.
- Boon (F. C.), B.A. See Commercial Series.
- Borrow (George). See Little Library.
- Bos (J. Ritzema). AGRICULTURAL ZOOLOGY. Translated by J. R. AINSWORTH DAVIS, M.A. With 155 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Botting (C. G.), B.A. EASY GREEK EXERCISES. Cr. 8vo. 2s. See also Junior Examination Series.
- Bouling (W.) TASSO AND HIS TIMES. With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Boulton (E. S.), M.A. GEOMETRY ON MODERN LINES. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- Boulton (William B.). SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A. With 49 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Bovill (W. B. Forster). HUNGARY AND THE HUNGARIANS. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PASCOE, 12 other Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Bowden (E. M.). THE IMITATION OF BUDDHA : Being Quotations from Buddhist Literature for each Day in the Year. Fifth Edition. Cr. 16mo. 2s. 6d.
- Bower (E.), B.A. See New Historical Series.
- Boyle (W.). CHRISTMAS AT THE ZOO. With Verses by W. BOYLE and 24 Coloured Pictures by H. B. NEILSON. Super Royal 16mo. 2s.
- Brabant (F. G.), M.A. RAMBLES IN SUSSEX. With 30 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s. See also Little Guides.
- Bradley (A. G.). ROUND ABOUT WILTSHIRE. With 14 Illustrations, in Colour by T. C. GOTCH, 16 other Illustrations, and a Map. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE ROMANCE OF NORTHERN ENGLAND. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., and 12 from Photographs. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Bradley (John W.). See Little Books on Art.
- Braid (James). Open Champion, 1901, 1905 and 1906. ADVANCED GOLF. With 88 Photographs and Diagrams. Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Braid (James) and Others. GREAT GOLFERS IN THE MAKING. Edited by HENRY LEACH. With 24 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Brailsford (H. N.). MACEDONIA: ITS RACES AND THEIR FUTURE. With 32 Illustrations and 2 Maps. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Brentano (C.). See Simplified German Texts.
- Brightman (F. E.), M.A. See Andrewes (Lancelot).
- Brodrick (Mary) and Morton (A. Anderson). A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. A Handbook for Students and Travellers. With 80 Illustrations and many Cartouches. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Brooks (E. E.), B.Sc. (Lond.), Leicester Municipal Technical School, and James (W.H.N.), A.M.I.E.E., A.R.C.Sc., Municipal School of Technology, Manchester. See Textbooks of Technology.
- Brown (S. E.), M.A., B.Sc., Senior Science Master at Uppingham. A PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY NOTE-BOOK FOR MATRICULATION AND ARMY CANDIDATES. Easy Experiments on the Commoner Substances. Cr. 4to. 1s. 6d. net.
- Brown (J. Wood), M.A. THE BUILDERS OF FLORENCE. With 74 Illustrations by HERBERT RAILTON. Demy 4to. 18s. net.
- Browne (Sir Thomas). See Standard Library.
- Brownell (C. L.). THE HEART OF JAPAN. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Browning (Robert). BROWNING'S PARACELSUS. The Text of Browning's Poem, edited with Introduction, Footnotes, and Bibliography, by MARGARET L. LEE, Lecturer in English Literature to the Women's Department, King's College, and KATHRINE B. LOCOCK. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net. See also Little Library.
- Bryant (Walter W.), B.A., F.R.A.S., F.R. Met. Soc., of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich. A HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY. With 47 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Buckland (Francis T.). CURIOSITIES OF NATURAL HISTORY. Illustrated by H. B. NEILSON. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Buckton (A. M.). THE BURDEN OF ENGELA. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- EAGER HEART : A Mystery Play. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.
- KINGS IN BABYLON : A Drama. Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.
- SONGS OF JOY. Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.
- Budge (E. A. Wallis). THE GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS. With over 100 Coloured Plates and many Illustrations. Two Volumes. Royal 8vo. £3. 3s. net.
- *Buist (H. Massac). THE COMPLETE AERONAUT. With many Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Bull (Paul), Army Chaplain. GOD AND OUR SOLDIERS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- Baldry (John). See *Booksellers*.
- Banister (John). THE PRACTICAL PHYSICIST. Edited with Annotations by C. E. Finch L. With 112 Illustrations. In two Volumes. With an Index and Subject-Index at the End of Volume II.
- Banister (F. J.). XI. THE JOURNAL OF ELECTRICAL SCIENCE. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.
- Banister (F. J.). ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT HOW TO USE IT. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.
- Banister (F. J.). A HISTORY OF ELECTRICAL AND OPTICAL INVENTIONS AND INVENTORS OF SCIENCE. See Books on History.
- Banister (F. J.). FREE THE CHAKRAS & RELEASES OF SORCERY. Second from the Original power of all ages. Edited by Frank Hart. 32s. net. See New Library of Medicine.
- Barnett (John). XI. See *Science*.
- Barnes (Robert). THE PHOENIX. Edited by Andrew Lang and W. A. Clouston. With Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.
- See also Standard Library.
- Barnside (W. F.). X. OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY FOR USE IN SCHOOLS. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Barton (Alfred). See *P.P.*
- Barry (J. B.). M.A. II. D. See *Gibson (Edward)*.
- Basset (F. W.). D.D. CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS (The Buxton Lectures of 1905). Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Battler (Joseph). D.D. See Standard Library.
- Battiss (F. M.). AMONG THE DANES. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by Ellice Wilkissos, and 15 from Photographs. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Cain (Georges), Curator of the Carnavalet Museum, Paris. WALKS IN PARIS. Translated by A. R. Allinson, M.A. With a Frontispiece in Colour by MAXWELL ARMFIELD, and 118 other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Caldecott (Alfred). D.D. See Handbooks of Theology.
- Calderwood (D. S.), Headmaster of the Normal School, Edinburgh. TEST CARDS IN EUCLID AND ALGEBRA. In three packets of 40, with Answers. 1s. each. Or in three Books, price 2d., 2d., and 2d.
- Cameron (Mary Lovett). OLD ETRURIA AND MODERN TUSCANY. With 32 Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.
- Cannan (Edwin), M.A. See Smith (Adam).
- Canning (George). See Little Library.
- Capey (E. F. H.). See Oxford Biographies.
- Carden (Robert W.). THE CITY OF GENOA. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PARKINSON, and 20 other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Casson (John). See *I.P.L.*
- Carter (John). THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edited by C. R. L. Fletcher, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 12s. net.
- THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF MAYER ALEXANDER. With an Introduction by C. H. Finch, M.A., and Numerous Annotations by Mrs. S. C. Lowrie. Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 12s. net.
- Cartwright (W. M.) and A. J. M.A. See *Leaders of Religion*.
- Carver (George). ALL ABOUT THE HOUSE. With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Carver (George). B. THE CHILD IS ALL. With 10 Illustrations. Second Edition. Large 8vo. 6s. net.
- Carver (George). XI. THE STORY OF KIDNEY'S PARADISE LOST. Crown 8vo. 6s. net.
- Carver (George). M.D. (Edin.). See New Library of Medicine.
- Catherwood (Brother Thomas of). THE LIVES OF SAINTS OF ASSISI. Translated by A. G. FLETCHER HOWELL. With a Frontispiece. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Chambers (A. M.). A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Seven Vols. 1s. net.
- Chambers (A. von). See Simplified German Text.
- Chandler (Archibald), Bishop of Bloemfontein. A.R.A. OELI: AN ESSAY IN MYSTICAL THEOLOGY. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Champer (C. C.) and Roberts (M. E.). LACE-MAKING IN THE MIDLANDS, PAST AND PRESENT. With 17 full-page Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Chapman (S. J.). See Books on Business.
- Chastleton (Thomas). See Standard Library.
- Chesterfield (Lord). THE LETTERS OF THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO HIS SON. Edited, with an Introduction by C. STRACHEY, with Notes by A. CALTHROP. Two Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 12s.
- Chesterton (G. K.). CHARLES DICKENS. With two Portraits in Photogravure. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. Fifth Edition. Feat. 8vo. 1s.
- TREMENDOUS TRIFLES. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.
- Childe (Charles P.), B.A., F.R.C.S. See New Library of Medicine.
- Cicero. See Classical Translations.
- Clapham (J. H.), Professor of Economics in the University of Leeds. THE WOOLLEN AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES. With 21 Illustrations and Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Clarke (F. A.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion.
- Clausen (George), A.R.A., R.W.S. SIX LECTURES ON PAINTING. With 16

- Illustrations. *Third Edition. Large Post 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- AIMS AND IDEALS IN ART.** Eight Lectures delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy of Arts. With 32 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Large Post 8vo. 3s. net.*
- Clay (Rotha Mary).** See Antiquary's Books.
- Cleather (A. L.). See Wagner (R.).
- Clinch (G.), F.G.S. See Antiquary's Books and Little Guides.
- Clough (W. T.) and Dunstan (A. E.). See Junior School Books and Textbooks of Science.
- Cloudston (T. S.), M.D., C.C.D., F.R.S.E.** See New Library of Medicine.
- ***Clutton - Brock.** **SHELLEY: THE MAN AND THE POET.** With 8 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Coast (W. G.), B.A.** EXAMINATION PAPERS IN VERGIL. *Cr. 8vo. 2s.*
- Cobb (W. F.), M.A.** THE BOOK OF PSALMS: with an Introduction and Notes. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Cockshott (Winnifred), St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford.** THE PILGRIM FATHERS, THEIR CHURCH AND COLONY. With 12 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Collingwood (W. G.), M.A.** THE LIFE OF JOHN RUSKIN. With Portrait. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Collins (W. E.), M.A.** See Churchman's Library.
- Colvill (Helen H.).** ST. TERESA OF SPAIN. With 20 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Combe (William).** See I.P.L.
- Conrad (Joseph).** THE MIRROR OF THE SEA: Memories and Impressions. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Cook (A. M.), M.A., and Marchant (E. C.), M.A.** PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. Selected from Latin and Greek Literature. *Ninth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- LATIN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. *Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.*
- Cooke-Taylor (R. W.).** THE FACTORY SYSTEM. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
- Coolidge (W. A. B.), M.A.** THE ALPS. With many Illustrations. *Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Cooper (C. S.), F.R.H.S.** See Westell (W.P.).
- Corkran (Alice).** See Little Books on Art.
- Cotes (Rosemary).** DANTE'S GARDEN. With a Frontispiece. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.; leather, 3s. 6d. net.*
- BIBLE FLOWERS.** With a Frontispiece and Plan. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Cotton (Charles).** See I.P.L. and Little Library.
- Coulton (G. G.).** CHAUCER AND HIS ENGLAND. With 32 Illustrations. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Cowley (Abraham).** See Little Library.
- Cowper (William).** THE POEMS. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. C. BAILEY, M.A. Illustrated, including two unpublished designs by WILLIAM BLAKE. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Cox (J. Charles).** See Ancient Cities, Antiquary's Books, and Little Guides.
- Cox (Harold), B.A., M.P.** LAND NATIONALIZATION AND LAND TAXATION. *Second Edition revised. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Crabbe (George).** See Little Library.
- Craik (Mrs.).** See Little Library.
- Crane (C. P.), D.S.O.** See Little Guides.
- Crane (Walter), R.W.S.** AN ARTIST'S REMINISCENCES. With 123 Illustrations by the Author and others from Photographs. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*
- INDIA IMPRESSIONS.** With 84 Illustrations from Sketches by the Author. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Crashaw (Richard).** See Little Library.
- Crispe (T. E.), K.C.** REMINISCENCES OF A K.C. With 2 Portraits. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Cross (J. A.), M.A.** THE FAITH OF THE BIBLE. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Crowley (Ralph H.).** THE HYGIENE OF SCHOOL LIFE. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Cruikshank (G.).** THE LOVING BAL-LAD OF LORD BATEMAN. With 11 Plates. *Cr. 16mo. 1s. 6d. net.*
- Crump (B.).** See Wagner (R.).
- Cuttell (G. T.), M.A.** Canon of Peterborough. See Handbooks of English Church History.
- Cunningham (H. H.), C.B.** See Connoisseur's Library.
- Cutts (H. L.), D.D.** See Leaders of Religion.
- Daniell (G. W.), M.A.** See Leaders of Religion.
- Dante (Alighieri).** LA COMMEDIA DI DANTE. The Italian Text edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE DIVINE COMEDY. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited with a Life of Dante and Introductory Notes by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt. *Demy 8vo. 6d.*
- THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE. Translated into Spenserian Prose by C. GORDON WRIGHT. With the Italian text. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- See also Little Library, Toynbee (Paget), and Vernon (Hon. W. Warren).
- Darley (George).** See Little Library.
- D'Arcy (R. F.), M.A.** A NEW TRIGONOMETRY FOR BEGINNERS. With numerous diagrams. *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
- Daudet (Alphonse).** See Simplified French Texts.
- Davenport (Cyril).** See Connoisseur's Library and Little Books on Art.
- Davenport (James).** THE WASHBOURNE FAMILY. With 15 Illustrations and a Map. *Royal 8vo. 21s. net.*
- Davey (Richard).** THE PAGEANT OF LONDON. With 40 Illustrations in Colour by JOHN FULLERLOVE, R.I. *In Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
- See also Romantic History.
- Davies (Gerald S.).** See Classics of Art.

Books Recommended for Young People

- Bentley W. G. P. See *James Bowen*.
- Bentley W. G. See *The Victorian Town of Bury St. Edmunds*. ENGLISH TOWNS OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. With Maps and Plans. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Bentley W. G. See *James Bowen*.
- Bentley W. G. See *The English Towns of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.
- Bentley W. G. See *James Bowen*.
- Bentley W. G. See *A CHILLY LIFE OF SPLENDOR*. With 8 Illustrations by Ernest H. F. French. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Bentley W. G. See *THE DARKNESS WITH A LITTLE LIGHT*. With 12 Illustrations, of which one is a Colour. From Poems by Mr. E. M. Forster. With a Map. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Bentley W. G. See *THE REVENGE SYSTEM*. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- Bentley W. G. See *ENGLISH COUNTS AND COUNTESSES*. Edited by F. Jameson. M.A. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Bickens (Charles). See *Little Library*. 17... and *Curiosities of Life*.
- Bickniss (Emily). POEMS. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Biddulph (G. L.). M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. THE GREEK VIEW OF LIFE. Second and Revised Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Dick (Lady), Badley (Oliver), and Whidbey (Oliver). WOMEN'S WORK. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Dillon (Edward). M.A. See *Commoner's Library*, Little Books on Art, and *Classics of Art*.
- Ditchfield (P. H.). M.A. F.S.A. THE STORY OF OUR ENGLISH TOWNS. With an Introduction by AUGUSTUS JESSOP. D.D. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- OLD ENGLISH CUSTOMS: Existing at the Present Time. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ENGLISH VILLAGES. With 100 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE PARISH CLERK. With 31 Illustrations. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE OLD-TIME PARSON. With 17 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Dixon (W. M.). M.A. A PRIMER OF TENNYSON. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- ENGLISH POETRY FROM BLAKE TO BROWNING. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Dobbs (W. J.). M.A. See Textbooks of Science.
- Denny (Miss). STORIES OF THE REAL WORLD. With 12 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 2s.
- Douglas (Henry). VENICE ON FOOT. With 100 Illustrations of the Grand Canal, Waterways, Islands, and Bridges. Demy 8vo. 2s.
- Dumas (J. T.). THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK. With 12 Illustrations by J. L. Dumas. Stories of Famous PERSONALITIES IN THE IRON MASK. Demy 8vo. 2s.
- Dumas (J. T.). The Little Books. Demy 8vo. 2s. LL.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Liverpool. SELECTIONS OF SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD TESTAMENT. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- See also *Worshipper's Companion*.
- Davy (Washington). See *Little Books*.
- Davison (A. E.). See *Little Books on Art*.
- Davies (M.). MANDALA OF TUSCANY. With 100 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 2s.
- Dawson (Charles). See Books on Religion.
- Dawson (John). THE CRIMES OF THE BUREAUS AND OTHERS. With 12 Illustrations by R. S. Gamble. With 2 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CRACKS OF URGUAN GRANITE AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CRACKS OF THE MARQUISE DE PAUVILLIERS AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CRIMES OF ALI PACHA AND OTHERS. With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MY MEMORIES. Translated by E. M. Waller. With Illustrations by ANTHONY LANG. With Frontispiece Photograph. In six Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 6s. each volume. Vol. I. 1879-1881. Vol. IV. 1879-1881. Vol. II. 1881-1882. Vol. V. 1881-1882. Vol. III. 1881-1882. Vol. VI. 1881-1882.
- MY PETS. Newly translated by A. R. ALLEN. M.A. With 16 Illustrations by V. LECLERCQ. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- See also Simplified French Texts.
- Denecke (David), D.Sc., LL.D. THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF HERBERT SPENCER. With 17 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s.
- Denn (J. T.), D.Sc., and Mandella (V. A.). GENERAL ELEMENTARY SCIENCE. With 114 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Denn-Pattison (R. P.). NAPOLEON'S MARSHALS. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Second Edition. 1s. 6d. net.
- Dunstan (A. E.). R.Sc. (Lond.). See Textbooks of Science, and Junior School Books.
- Durham (The Earl of). A REPORT ON CANADA. With an Introductory Note. Demy 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- Dutt (W. A.). THE NORFOLK BROADS. With coloured Illustrations by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- WILD LIFE IN EAST ANGLIA.** With 16 Illustrations in colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- SOME LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS OF EAST ANGLIA.** With 16 Illustrations in Colour by W. DEXTER, R.B.A., and 16 other Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net. See also Little Guides.
- Earle (John), Bishop of Salisbury.** MICRO-COSMOGRAPHIE, OR A PIECE OF THE WORLD DISCOVERED. *Post 16mo.* 2s. net.
- Edmonds (Major J. E.), R.E.; D.A.Q.-M.G.** See Wood (W. Birkbeck).
- Edwards (Tickner).** THE LORE OF THE HONEY BEE. With 24 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Edwards (Clement), M.P.** RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION. *Second Edition, Revised.* *Crown 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- Edwards (W. Douglas).** See Commercial Series.
- Egan (Pierce).** See I.P.L.
- Egerton (H. E.), M.A.** A HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY. *Second Ed., Revised.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Ellaby (C. G.).** See Little Guides.
- Ellerton (F. G.).** See Stone (S. J.).
- Epictetus.** See Aurelius (Marcus).
- Erasmus.** A Book called in Latin EN-CHIRIDION MILITIS CHRISTIANI, and in English the Manual of the Christian Knight. *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net.
- Erckmann-Chatrian.** See Simplified French Texts.
- Evagrius.** See Byzantine Texts.
- Everett-Green (Mary Anne).** ELIZABETH; ELECTRESS PALATINE AND QUEEN OF BOHEMIA. Revised by her Niece S. C. LOMAS. With a Prefatory Note by A. W. WARD, Litt.D. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Ewald (Carl).** TWO LEGS, AND OTHER STORIES. Translated from the Danish by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Illustrated by AUGUSTA GUEST. *Large Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Ezekiel.** See Westminster Commentaries.
- Facon (H. T.), B.A.** See Junior Examination Series.
- Fairbrother (W. H.), M.A.** THE PHILOSOPHY OF T. H. GREEN. *Second Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- Fee (Allan).** THE FLIGHT OF THE KING. With over 70 Sketches and Photographs by the Author. *New and revised Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- SECRET CHAMBERS AND HIDING-PLACES.** With 80 Illustrations. *New and revised Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- JAMES II, AND HIS WIVES.** With 40 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Fell (E. F. B.).** THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIBERTY. *Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- Ferrier (Susan).** See Little Library.
- Fidler (T. Claxton), M.Inst. C.E.** See Books on Business.
- Fielding (Henry).** See Standard Library.
- Finn (S. W.), M.A.** See Junior Examination Series.
- Firth (J. B.).** See Little Guides.
- Firth (C. H.), M.A.** Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. CROMWELL'S ARMY: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Firth (Edith E.).** See Beginner's Books and Junior School Books.
- FitzGerald (Edward).** THE RUBÁÍYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM. Printed from the Fifth and last Edition. With a Commentary by Mrs. STEPHEN BATSON, and a Biography of Omar by E. D. ROSS. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s. See also Miniature Library.
- FitzGerald (H. P.).** A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF CLIMBERS, TWINERS, AND WALL SHRUBS. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net.
- Fitzpatrick (S. A. O.).** See Ancient Cities.
- Flecker (W. H.), M.A., D.C.L.** Headmaster of the Dean Close School, Cheltenham. THE STUDENT'S PRAYER BOOK. THE TEXT OF MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER AND LITANY. With an Introduction and Notes. *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- Fletcher (C. R. L.), M.A.** See Carlyle (Thomas).
- Fletcher (J. S.).** A BOOK OF YORK-SHIRE. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WAL PAGET and FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., 16 other Illustrations and a Map. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Flux (A. W.), M.A.** William Dow Professor of Political Economy in McGill University, Montreal. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Foat (F. W. G.), D.Litt., M.A.** A LONDON READER FOR YOUNG CITIZENS. With Plans and Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s. 6d.
- Ford (H. G.), M.A.** Assistant Master at Bristol Grammar School. See Junior School Books.
- Forel (A.).** THE SENSES OF INSECTS. Translated by MACLEOD YEARSLEY. With 2 illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Fortescue (Mrs. G.).** See Little Books on Art.
- Fouqué (La Motte).** SINTRAM AND HIS COMPANIONS. Translated by A. C. FARQUHARSON. With 20 Illustrations by EDMUND J. SULLIVAN, and a Frontispiece in Photogravure from an engraving by ALBRECHT DÜRER. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net. Half White Vellum, 10s. 6d. net. See also Simplified German Texts.
- Fraser (J. F.).** ROUND THE WORLD ON A WHEEL. With 200 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- French (W.), M.A.** See Textbooks of Science.
- Freudenreich (Ed. von).** DAIRY BACTERIOLOGY. A Short Manual for Students. Translated by J. R. AINSWORTH DAVIS, M.A. *Second Edition, Revised.* *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.

- Faustes (F. R. M.). FRENCH AND ENGLISH PARALLELS.** *Fcap. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net.
- Fyvie (John). TRAGEDY QUEENS OF THE GEORGIAN ERA.** With 16 Illustrations. *Second Ed.* *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- Gallagher (D.) and Stead (W. J.). THE COMPLETE RUGBY FOOTBALLER, ON THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM.** With 35 Illustrations. *Second Ed.* *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Gallican (W. M.).** See Little Guides.
- Gaiton (Sir Francis), F.R.S.; D.C.L., Oxf.; Hon. Sc.D., Camb.; Hon. Fellow Trinity College, Cambridge.** *MEMORIES OF MY LIFE.* With 8 Illustrations. *Third Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Gambado (Geoffrey, Esq.).** See I.P.L.
- Garnett (Lucy M. J.). THE TURKISH PEOPLE: THEIR SOCIAL LIFE, RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS, AND DOMESTIC LIFE.** With 21 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Gaskell (Mrs.).** See Little Library, Standard Library and Sixpenny Novels.
- Gassquet, the Right Rev. Abbot O.S.B.** See Antiquary's Books.
- Gee (Henry), D.D., F.S.A.** See Handbooks of English Church History.
- George (H. B.), M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.** *BATTLES OF ENGLISH HISTORY.* With numerous Plans. *Fourth Edition Revised.* *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.** *Fourth Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- Gibbins (H. de B.), Litt.D., M.A.** *INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND: HISTORICAL OUTLINES.* With 5 Maps. *Sixth Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d.
- THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.** With Maps and Plans. *Fifteenth Edition, Revised.* *Cr. 8vo.* 3s.
- ENGLISH SOCIAL REFORMERS.** *Second Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
See also Hadfield (R. A.), and Commercial Series.
- Gibbon (Edward).** *MEMOIRS OF MY LIFE AND WRITINGS.* Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL, LL.D. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- ***THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.** Edited with Notes, Appendices, and Maps, by J. B. BURY. M.A., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. In Seven Volumes. With many Illustrations and Maps. *Demy 8vo.* *Gilt top.* Each 10s. 6d. net.
- Gibbs (Philip).** *THE ROMANCE OF GEORGE VILLIERS: FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND SOME MEN AND WOMEN OF THE STUART COURT.* With 20 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.
- Gibson (E. C. S.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester.** See Westminster Commentaries.
- Handbooks of Theology, and Oxford Biographies.**
- Gilbert (A. R.).** See Little Books on Art.
- Gloss (M. R.) and Wyatt (Kate M.). A BOOK OF ENGLISH GARDENS.** With 24 Illustrations in Colour. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Glover (T. R.), M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge.** *THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE.* *Third Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Godfrey (Elizabeth).** *A BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE.* Being Lyrical Selections for every day in the Year. Arranged by. *Second Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- ENGLISH CHILDREN IN THE OLDEN TIME.** With 31 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Also published in a Colonial Edition.
- LYRA FRIVOLA.** *Fourth Edition.* *Fcap. 2vo.* 2s. 6d.
- VERSES TO ORDER.** *Second Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- SECOND STRINGS.** *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- Goldsmith (Oliver).** See I.P.L. and Standard Library.
- Goll (August).** *CRIMINAL TYPES IN SHAKESPEARE.* Authorised Translation from the Danish by Mrs. CHARLES WEEKES. *Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- Gommo (G. L.).** See Antiquary's Books.
- Gordon (Lina Duff) (Mrs. Aubrey Waterfield).** *HOME LIFE IN ITALY: LETTERS FROM THE APENNINES.* With 13 Illustrations by AUBREY WATERFIELD and 15 Illustrations from Photographs. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Gorst (Rt. Hon. Sir John).** See New Library of Medicine.
- Gostling (Frances M.). THE BRETONS AT HOME.** With 12 Illustrations in Colour by GASTON FANTY LESCURE, and 32 from Photographs. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Goudge (H. L.), M.A.** Principal of Wells Theological College. See Westminster Commentaries.
- Graham (Harry).** *A GROUP OF SCOTTISH WOMEN.* With 16 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Graham (P. Anderson).** *THE RURAL EXODUS.* The Problem of the Village and the Town. *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- Grahame (Kenneth).** *THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS.* With a Frontispiece by GRAHAM ROBERTSON. *Fourth Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Granger (F. S.), M.A., Litt.D.** *PSYCHOLOGY.* *Fourth Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- THE SOUL OF A CHRISTIAN.* *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.

GENERAL LITERATURE

II

- Gray (E. M'Queen).** GERMAN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Gray (P. L.).** B.Sc. THE PRINCIPLES OF MAGNETISM AND ELECTRICITY. With 182 Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Green (G. Buckland), M.A.** late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxon. NOTES ON GREEK AND LATIN SYNTAX. Second Ed. revised. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Greenidge (A. H. J.), M.A., D.Litt.** A HISTORY OF ROME: From the Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the end of the Jugurthine War, B.C. 133-104. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Gregory (Miss E. C.).** See Library of Devotion.
- Grubb (H. C.).** See Textbooks of Technology.
- Gwynn (Stephen), M.P.** A HOLIDAY IN CONNEMARA. With 16 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hadfield (R. A.) and Gibbins (H. de B.).** A SHORTER WORKING DAY. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hall (Cyrill).** THE YOUNG CARPENTER. With many Diagrams, and 15 Photographic Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- Hall (Hammond).** THE YOUNG ENGINEER: OR MODERN ENGINES AND THEIR MODELS. With 85 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- Hall (Mary).** A WOMAN'S TREK FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO. With 64 Illustrations and 2 Maps. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 16s. net.
- Hamel (Frank).** FAMOUS FRENCH SALONS. With 20 Illustrations. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Hannay (D.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL NAVY. Vol. I., 1217-1682. Vol. II., 1689-1815. Demy 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- Hannay (James O.), M.A.** THE SPIRIT AND ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE WISDOM OF THE DESERT.** Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Hardie (Martin).** See Connoisseur's Library.
- Hare (A. T.), M.A.** THE CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE INDUCTION COILS. With 35 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 6s.
- Harker (Alfred), M.A., F.R.S.** Fellow of St. John's College, and Lecturer in Petrology in the University of Cambridge. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF IGNEOUS ROCKS. With 112 Diagrams and 2 Plates. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Harper (Charles G.).** 'THE AUTOCAR' ROAD-BOOK. In four Volumes. Crown 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
Vol. I.—SOUTH OF THE THAMES.
- Harvey (Alfred), M.B.** See Ancient Cities and Antiquary's Books.
- Hawthorne (Nathaniel).** See Little Library.
- Headley (F. W.).** DARWINISM AND MODERN SOCIALISM. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net
- Heath (Frank R.).** See Little Guides.
- Heath (Dudley).** See Connoisseur's Library.
- Henderson (B. W.).** Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. THE LIFE AND PRINCIPAL OF THE EMPEROR NERO. Illustrated. New and cheaper issue. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- AT INTERVALS.** Fcap 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Henderson (M. Sturge), GEORGE MEREDITH:** NOVELIST, POET, REFORMER. With a Portrait in Photogravure. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Henderson (T. F.).** See Little Library and Oxford Biographies.
- Henderson (T. F.), and Watt (Francis).** SCOTLAND OF TO-DAY. With 20 Illustrations in colour and 24 other Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Henley (W. E.).** ENGLISH LYRICS. CHAUCER TO POE, 1340-1849. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Henley (W. E.) and Whibley (C.).** A BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE, CHARACTER, AND INCIDENT, 1387-1649. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Herbert (George).** See Library of Devotion.
- Herbert of Cheshire (Lord).** See Minature Library.
- Hett (Walter S.), B.A.** A SHORT HISTORY OF GREECE TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. With 3 Maps and 4 Plans. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Hewlins (W. A. S.), B.A.** ENGLISH TRADE AND FINANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hewitt (Ethel M.).** A GOLDEN DIAL. A Day Book of Prose and Verse. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Hey (H.).** Inspector, Surrey Education Committee, and Rose (G. H.), City and Guilds Woodwork Teacher. A WOODWORK CLASS-BOOK. Pt. I. Illustrated. 4s. 2d.
- Heywood (W.).** See St. Francis of Assisi.
- Hill (Clare).** See Textbooks of Technology.
- Hill (George Francis).** ONE HUNDRED MASTERPIECES OF SCULPTURE. With 101 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hill (Henry), B.A., Headmaster of the Boy's High School, Worcester, Cape Colony.** A SOUTH AFRICAN ARITHMETIC. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Hind (C. Lewis).** DAYS IN CORNWALL. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PASCOE, and 20 other Illustrations and a Map. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hirst (F. W.).** See Books on Business.
- Hobhouse (L. T.), late Fellow of C.C.C., Oxford.** THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hobson (J. A.), M.A.** INTERNATIONAL TRADE: A Study of Economic Principles. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- PROBLEMS OF POVERTY.** An Inquiry

- into the Industrial Condition of the Poor. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hodgetts (E. A. Brayley). THE COURT OF RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. With 20 Illustrations. Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. 2s. net.
- Hodgkin (T.), D.C.L. See Leaders of Religion.
- Hodgson (Mrs. W.) HOW TO IDENTIFY OLD CHINESE PORCELAIN. With 40 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 6s.
- Holden-Stone (G. de). See Books on Business.
- Holdich (Sir T. H.), K.C.I.E., C.B., F.S.A. THE INDIAN BORDERLAND, 1880-1900. With 22 Illustrations and a Map. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Holdsworth (W. S.), D.C.L. A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. In Four Volumes. Vols. I., II., III. Demy 8vo. Each 10s. 6d. net.
- Holland (Clive). TYROL AND ITS PEOPLE. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by ADRIAN STOKES, 31 other Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Holland (H. Scott), Canon of St. Paul's. See Newman (J. H.).
- Hollings (M. A.), M.A. See Six Ages of European History.
- Holloway-Calthrop (H. C.), late of Balliol College, Oxford; Bursar of Eton College. PETRARCH: HIS LIFE, WORK, AND TIMES. With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Holmes (T. Scott). See Ancient Cities.
- Holyoake (G. J.). THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT OF TO-DAY. *Fourth Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Hone (Nathaniel J.). See Antiquary's Books.
- Hook (A.). HUMANITY AND ITS PROBLEMS. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Hoppner. See Little Galleries.
- Horace. See Classical Translations.
- Horsburgh (E. L. S.), M.A. LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT: AND FLORENCE IN HER GOLDEN AGE. With 24 Illustrations and 2 Maps. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- WATERLOO: With Plans. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- See also Oxford Biographies.
- Horth (A. C.). See Textbooks of Technology.
- Horton (R. F.), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.
- Hosie (Alexander). MANCHURIA. With 30 Illustrations and a Map. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- How (F. D.). SIX GREAT SCHOOL-MASTERS. With 13 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Howell (A. G. Ferrers). FRANCISCAN DAYS. Being Selections for every day in the year from ancient Franciscan writings. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Howell (G.). TRADE UNIONISM—NEW AND OLD. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Huggins (Sir William), K.C.B., O.M., D.C.L., F.R.S. THE ROYAL SOCIETY; OR, SCIENCE IN THE STATE AND IN THE SCHOOLS. With 25 Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- Hughes (C. E.). THE PRAISE OF SHAKESPEARE. An English Anthology. With a Preface by SIDNEY LEE. Demy 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Hugo (Victor). See Simplified French Texts.
- Hulton (Samuel F.). THE CLERK OF OXFORD IN FICTION. With 12 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hume (Martin), M.A. See Romantic History.
- Hutchinson (Horace G.). THE NEW FOREST. Illustrated in colour with 50 Pictures by WALTER TYNDALE and 4 by LUCY KEMP-WELCH. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hutton (A. W.), M.A. See Leaders of Religion and Library of Devotion.
- Hutton (Edward). THE CITIES OF UMBRIA. With 26 Illustrations in Colour by A. Pisa, and 12 other Illustrations. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CITIES OF SPAIN. With 24 Illustrations in Colour, by A. W. RIMINGTON, 20 other Illustrations and a Map. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- FLORENCE AND THE CITIES OF NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WILLIAM PARKINSON, and 16 other Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ENGLISH LOVE POEMS. Edited with an Introduction. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- COUNTRY WALKS ABOUT FLORENCE. With 32 Drawings by ADELAIDE MARCHI and 20 other Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- IN UNKNOWN TUSCANY. With an Appendix by WILLIAM HEYWOOD. With 8 Illustrations in Colour, and 20 others. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- ROME. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by MAXWELL ARMFIELD, and 12 other Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hutton (R. H.). See Leaders of Religion.
- Hutton (W. H.), M.A. THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE. With Portraits after Drawings by HOLBEIN. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 5s.
- See also Leaders of Religion.
- Hyde (A. G.). GEORGE HERBERT AND HIS TIMES. With 32 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hyett (F. A.). FLORENCE: HER HISTORY AND ART TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Ibsen (Henrik). BRAND. A Drama. Translated by WILLIAM WILSON. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Inge (W. R.), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. (The Bampton Lectures of 1899.) Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- See also Library of Devotion.

- Innes (A. D.), M.A. A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA. With Maps and Plans. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS. With Maps. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Innes (Mary). SCHOOLS OF PAINTING. With 76 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Isaiah. See Churchman's Bible.
- Jackson (C. E.), B.A. See Textbooks of Science.
- Jackson (S.), M.A. See Commercial Series.
- Jackson (F. Hamilton). See Little Guides.
- Jacob (F.), M.A. See Junior Examination Series.
- Jeans (J. Stephen). TRUSTS, POOLS, AND CORNERS AS AFFECTING COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- See also Books on Business.
- Jebb (Camilla). A STAR OF THE SALONS: JULIE DE LESPINASSE. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Jeffery (Reginald W.), M.A. THE HISTORY OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA 1497-1763. With 8 Illustrations and Map. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Jeffreys (D. Gwyn). DOLLY'S THEATRICALS. Super Royal 16mo. 2s. 6d.
- Jenks (E.), M.A., B.C.L. AN OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Second Ed. Revised by R. C. K. ENSOR, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Jenner (Mrs. H.). See Little Books on Art.
- Jennings (A. C.), M.A. See Handbooks of English Church History.
- Jennings (Oscar), M.D. EARLY WOOD-CUT INITIALS. Demy 4to. 2s. net.
- Jerningham (Charles Edward). THE MAXIMS OF MARMADUKE. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Jessopp (Augustus), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.
- Jeovns (F. B.), M.A., Litt.D., Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham. RELIGION IN EVOLUTION. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- See also Churchman's Library and Handbooks of Theology.
- Johnson (A. H.), M.A. See Six Ages of European History.
- Johnston (Sir H. H.), K.C.B. BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA. With nearly 200 Illustrations and Six Maps. Third Edition. Cr. 4to. 18s. net.
- Jones (H.). See Commercial Series.
- Jones (H. F.). See Textbooks of Science.
- Jones (L. A. Atherley), K.C., M.P., and Bellot (Hugh H. L.), M.A., D.C.L. THE MINER'S GUIDE TO THE COAL MINES REGULATION ACTS AND THE LAW OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- COMMERCIAL IN WAR. Royal 8vo. 21s. net.
- Jones (R. Compton). M.A. POEMS OF THE INNER LIFE. Selected by. Thirteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Jonson (Ben). See Standard Library.
- Julian (Lady) of Norwich. REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE. Ed. by GRACE WARRACK. Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Juvenal. See Classical Translations.
- 'Kappa.' LET YOUTH BUT KNOW: A Plea for Reason in Education. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Kaufmann (M.), M.A. SOCIALISM AND MODERN THOUGHT. Second Edition Revised and Enlarged. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Keats (John). THE POEMS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by E. de SELINCOURT, M.A. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure. Second Edition Revised. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- REALMS OF GOLD. Selections from the Works of. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- See also Little Library and Standard Library.
- Kebble (John). THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. With an Introduction and Notes by W. LOCK, D.D., Warden of Kebble College. Illustrated by R. ANNING BELL. Third Edition Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; padded morocco, 5s
- See also Library of Devotion.
- Kelynnack (T. N.), M.D., M.R.C.P. See New Library of Medicine.
- Kempis (Thomas à). THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. With an Introduction by DEAN FARRAR. Illustrated by C. M. GERKE. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.; padded morocco. 5s.
- Also Translated by C. BIGG, D.D. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- See also Montmorency (J. E. G. de), Library of Devotion, and Standard Library.
- Kennedy (James Houghton), D.D., Assistant Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin. See St. Paul.
- Kerr (S. Parnell). GEORGE SELWYN AND THE WITS. With 16 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Kimmmins (C. W.), M.A. THE CHEMISTRY OF LIFE AND HEALTH. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Kingley (A. W.). See Little Library.
- Kipling (Rudyard). BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS. 94th Thousand. Twenty-seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Fcap. 8vo, Leather. 5s.
- THE SEVEN SEAS. 79th Thousand. Fifteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Fcap. 8vo, Leather. 5s.
- THE FIVE NATIONS. 68th Thousand. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Fcap. 8vo, Leather. 5s.
- DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. Eighteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Fcap. 8vo, Leather. 5s.
- Knight (Albert E.). THE COMPLETE CRICKETER. With 50 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Knowling (R. J.), M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London. See Westminster Commentaries.

- Knox (Walter F.). **THE COURT OF A SAINT.** With 12 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Kropotkin (Prince). **THE TERROR IN RUSSIA.** An Appeal to the Nation. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2d. net.
- Labouteyre (Edouard). See Simplicio. French Texts.
- Lamb (Charles and Mary). **THE WORKS.** Edited by E. V. Lucas. Illustrated. In Seven Volumes. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. each. See also Little Library and Lucas (E. V.)
- Lambert (F. A. H.). See Little Guides.
- Lambris (Professor S. P.). See Byzantine Texts.
- Lane-Poole (Stanley). **A HISTORY OF EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES.** With 102 Illustrations and a Map. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Langbridge (F.). **A. A. BALLADS OF THE BRAVE:** Poems of Chivalry, Enterprise, Courage, and Constancy. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Leicester (Sir E. Ray), K.C.B., F.R.S. **SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR.** With many Illustrations, of which 2 are in Colour. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Law (William). See Library of Devotion and Standard Library.
- Leach (Henry). **THE SPIRIT OF THE LINKS.** Cr. 8vo. 6s. See also Braid (James).
- Le Braz (Anatole). **THE LAND OF PARDONS.** Translated by FRANCES M. GOSTLING. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by T. C. GOTCH, and 40 other Illustrations. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Lee (Margaret L.). See Browning (Robert).
- Lees (Beatrice). See Six Ages of European History.
- Lees (Frederick). **A SUMMIER IN TOURAINE.** With 12 Illustrations in Colour by MAXWELL ARSFIELD, and 87 from Photographs. Also a Map. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Lehmann (R. C.), M.P. **THE COMPLETE OARSMAN.** With 59 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Lewes (V. B.), M.A. **AIR AND WATER.** Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Lewis (B. M. Gwynn). **A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN SHRUBS.** With 20 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Lindsay (Lady Mabel). **ANNI DOMINI: A GONVILLE STUDY.** In Two Volumes. Super Royal 8vo. 10s. net.
- Lindsay (W. M.), Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. See Plautus.
- Lisle (Fortunéée). See Little Bookson Art.
- Littlehales (H.). See Antiquary's Books.
- Llewellyn (Owen) and Raven-Hill (L.). **THE SOUTH-BOUND CAR.** With 85 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Lock (Walter), D.D., Warden of Keble College. **ST. PAUL, THE MASTER-BUILDER.** *Second Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. **THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN LIFE.** Cr. 8vo. 6s. See also Keble (J.) and Leaders of Religion.
- Lodder (F.). See Little Library.
- Lacock (Katherine B.). See Browning (Rt.).
- Lodge (Sir Oliver), F.R.S. **THE SUBSTANCE OF FAITH, ALLIED WITH SCIENCE: A Catechism for Parents and Teachers.** *Tenth Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- MAN AND THE UNIVERSE: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE ADVANCE IN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE UPON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIANITY.** *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- THE SURVIVAL OF MAN: A STUDY OF UNRECOGNISED HUMAN FACULTY.** *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Lodge (Eleazar C.). See Six Ages of European History.
- Lofthouse (W. F.), M.A. **ETHICS AND ATONEMENT.** With a Frontispiece. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.
- Longfellow (H. W.). See Little Library.
- Lorimer (George Horace). **LETTERS FROM A SELF-MADE MERCHANT TO HIS SON.** *Seventeenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- OLD GORGON GRAHAM.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lorimer (Norman). **BY THE WATERS OF EGYPT.** With 16 Illustrations in Colour by BEXTON FLETCHER, and 32 other Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 16s. net.
- Lover (Samuel). See I.P.L.
- Lucas (E. V.). **THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB.** With 28 Illustrations. *Fifth and Revised Edition in One Volume.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- A **WANDERER IN HOLLAND.** With 20 Illustrations in Colour by HERBERT MARSHALL, 34 Illustrations after old Dutch Masters, and a Map. *Tenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A **WANDERER IN LONDON.** With 16 Illustrations in Colour by NELSON DANSON, 36 other Illustrations and a Map. *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A **WANDERER IN PARIS.** With 16 Illustrations in Colour by WALTER DEXTER, and 32 from Photographs after Old Masters. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE OPEN ROAD:** A Little Book for Wayfarers. *Fifteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.; India Paper, 7s. 6d.
- THE FRIENDLY TOWN:** A Little Book for the Urbane. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s; India Paper, 7s. 6d.
- FIRESIDE AND SUNSHINE.** *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- CHARACTER AND COMEDY.** *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- THE GENTLEST ART.** A Choice of Letters by Entertaining Hands. *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- A SWAN AND HER FRIENDS.** With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- HER INFINITE VARIETY: A FEMININE PORTAIT GALLERY.** *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- LISTENER'S LURE: AN OBLIQUE NARRATION.** *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

GOOD COMPANY: A RALLY OF MEN.*Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.***ONE DAY AND ANOTHER: A VOLUME***OF ESSAYS. Third Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.***OVER BEMERTON'S: AN EASY-GOING***CHRONICLE. Seventh Ed. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.**See also Lamb (Charles).***Lucian. See Classical Translations.****Lyde (L. W.), M.A. See Commercial Series.****Lydon (Noel S.). A PRELIMINARY GEOMETRY.***With numerous Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 1s.**See also Junior School Books.***Lytteleton (Hon. Mrs. A.). WOMEN AND THEIR WORK.***Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.***M. (R.). THE THOUGHTS OF LUCIA HALIDAY.***With some of her Letters.**Edited by R. M. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.***Macaulay (Lord). CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS.***Edited by F. C. Montague. M.A. Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 12s.***Mc'Allen (J. E. B.), M.A. See Commercial Series.****McCabe (Joseph) (formerly Very Rev. F. ANTONY, O.S.F.). THE DECAY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME. Second Edition.***Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.***MacCunn (Florence A.). MARY STUART.***With 44 Illustrations, including Frontispiece in Photogravure.**New and Cheaper Ed. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.**See also Leaders of Religion.***McDermott (E. R.). See Books on Business.****McDougall (William), M.A. (Oxon, M.B. (Cantab.). AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Second Ed.***Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.***M'Dowall (A. S.). See Oxford Biographies.****MacFile (Ronald C.), M.A., M.B. See New Library of Medicine.****Mackay (A. M.), B.A. See Churchman's Library.****Mackenzie (W. Leslie), M.A., M.D., D.P.H. etc. THE HEALTH OF THE SCHOOL CHILD. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.****Macklin (Herbert W.), M.A. See Antiquary's Books.****M'Neile (A. H.), B.D. See Westminster Commentaries.****'Midle Mori' (Author of). ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA AND HER TIMES.***With 28 Illustrations. Second Edition.**Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.***Maaeterlinck (Maurice). THE BLUE BIRD: A FAIRY PLAY IN FIVE ACTS.***Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXERA DE MATOS. Ninth Edition. Fcap. 8vo.**Deckle Edges. 3s. 6d. net. Also in Paper Covers. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.***Magnus (Laurie), M.A. A PRIMER OF WORDSWORTH.***Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.***Mahaffy (J. P.), M.A. A HISTORY OF THE EGYPT OF THE PTOLEMITIES.***With 70 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.***Maitland (F. W.), M.A., LL.D. ROMAN CANON LAW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.***Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d.***Major (H.), B.A., B.Sc. A HEALTH AND****TEMPERANCE READER. Cr. 8vo.***1s.***Maiden (H. E.), M.A. ENGLISH RECORDS. A Companion to the History of England.***Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.***THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF A CITIZEN. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo.***1s. 6d.**See also School Histories.***Marchant (E. C.), M.A. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. A GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.***See also Cook (A. M.).***Marett (R. R.), M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. THE THRESHOLD OF RELIGION.***Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.***Marks (Jeannette), M.A. ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA from the Restoration to the date of the publication of the 'Lyrical Ballads' (1660-1798).***Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.***Marr (J. E.), F.R.S., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SCENERY. Third Edition.***Revised. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.***AGRICULTURAL GEOLOGY. Illustrated.***Cr. 8vo. 6s.***Marriott (Charles). A SPANISH HOLIDAY.***With 8 Illustrations by A. M. Poweraker, R.B.A., and 22 other Illustrations.**Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.***Marriott (J. A. R.), M.A. THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD FALKLAND.***With 23 Illustrations. Second Edition.**Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.**See also Six Ages of European History.***Marvell (Andrew). See Little Library.****Masefield (John). SEA LIFE IN NELSON'S TIME.***With 16 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.***ON THE SPANISH MAIN: or, SOME ENGLISH FORAYS IN THE Isthmus of Darien.***With 22 Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.***A SAILOR'S GARLAND. Selected and Edited by. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.****AN ENGLISH PROSE MISCELLANY.***Selected and Edited by. Cr. 8vo. 6s.***Maskell (A.). See Connoisseur's Library.****Mason (A. J.), D.D. See Leaders of Religion.****Masterman (C. P. G.), M.A., M.P. TENNYSON AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER.***Cr. 8vo. 6s.***THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND.***Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.***Masterman (J. H. B.), M.A. See Six Ages of European History.****Matheson (E. F.). COUNSELS OF LIFE.***Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.***Maude (J. H.), M.A. See Handbooks of English Church History.****May (Phil). THE PHIL MAY ALBUM.***Second Edition. 4to. 1s. net.***Mayne (Ethel Colburn). ENCHANTERS OF MEN.***With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*

- M**earkin (Annette M. B.), Fellow of the Anthropological Institute. **WOMAN IN TRANSITION.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
GALICIA: THE SWITZERLAND OF SPAIN. With 105 Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- ***Medley (D. J.), M.A., Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, COMPRISING A SELECTED NUMBER OF THE CHIEF CHARTERS AND STATUTES.** Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Mellows (Emma S.), A SHORT STORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.** Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Mérimee (P.). See Simplified French Texts.
- Methuen (A. M. S.), M.A. **THE TRAGEDY OF SOUTH AFRICA.** Cr. 8vo. 2s. net. Also Cr. 8vo. 3d. net. **ENGLAND'S RUIN: DISCUSSED IN FOURTEEN LETTERS TO A PROTECTIONIST.** Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3d. net.
- Meynell (Everard). **COROT AND HIS FRIENDS.** With 28 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Miles (Eustace), M.A. LIFE AFTER LIFE: OR, THE THEORY OF REINCARNATION.** Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE POWER OF CONCENTRATION: HOW TO ACQUIRE IT.** Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Millais (J. G.), THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS,** President of the Royal Academy. With many Illustrations, of which 2 are in Photogravure. New Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
 See also Little Galleries.
- Millin (G. F.), PICTORIAL GARDENING.** With 21 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Millis (C. T.), M.I.M.E.** See Textbooks of Technology.
- Milne (J. G.), M.A. A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE.** With 143 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Milton (John). A DAY BOOK OF MILTON.** Edited by R. F. TOWNDROW. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
 See also Little Library and Standard Library.
- Minchin (H. C.), M.A.** See Peel (R.).
- Mitchell (P. Chalmers), M.A. OUTLINES OF BIOLOGY.** With 74 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Mitton (G. E.), JANE AUSTEN AND HER TIMES.** With 21 Illustrations. Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Mofat (Mary M.), QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA.** With 20 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Moll (A.).** See Books on Business.
- Moir (D. M.).** See Little Library.
- Molinos (Dr. Michael de).** See Library of Devotion.
- Money (L. G. Chiozza), M.P. RICHES AND POVERTY.** Ninth Edition. Demy 8vo. 5s. net. Also Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.
- Montagu (Henry), Earl of Manchester.** See Library of Devotion.
- Montaigne. A DAY BOOK OF.** Edited by C. F. POND. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Montgomery (H. B.), THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST.** With a Frontispiece in Colour and 18 other Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Montmorency (J. E. G. de), B.A. LL.B. THOMAS A KEMPIS, HIS AGE AND BOOK.** With 22 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Moore (H. E.), BACK TO THE LAND.** Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Moore (T. Sturge). ART AND LIFE.** With 8 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Moorhouse (E. Hallam).** NELSON'S LADY HAMILTON. With 51 Portraits. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Moran (Clarence G.).** See Bookson Business.
- More (Sir Thomas).** See Standard Library.
- Morfill (W. R.).** Oriel College, Oxford. A HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM PETER THE GREAT TO ALEXANDER II. With 12 Maps and Plans. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Morich (R. J.).** See School Examination Series.
- Morley (Margaret W.).** Founded on THE BEE PEOPLE. With 74 Illustrations. Sq. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- LITTLE MITCHELL: THE STORY OF A MOUNTAIN SQUIRREL TOLD BY HIMSELF.** With 26 Illustrations. Sq. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Morris (J.). THE MAKERS OF JAPAN.** With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Morris (Joseph E.).** See Little Guides.
- Morton (A. Anderson).** See Brodrick (M.).
- Moule (H. C. G.), D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham.** See Leaders of Religion.
- Muir (M. M. Pattison), M.A. THE CHEMISTRY OF FIRE.** Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Mundella (V. A.), M.A.** See Dunn (J. T.).
- Munro (R.), M.A., LL.D.** See Antiquary's Books.
- Musset (Alfred de).** See Simplified French Text.
- Myers (A. Wallis), THE COMPLETE LAWN TENNIS PLAYER.** With 90 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Naval Officer (A.).** See I. P. L.
- Newman (Ernest).** See New Library of Music.
- Newman (George), M.D., D.P.H., F.R.S.E.** See New Library of Medicine.
- Newman (J. H.) and others.** See Library of Devotion.
- Newsholme (Arthur), M.D., F.R.C.P.** See New Library of Medicine.
- Nichols (Bowyer).** See Little Library.
- Nicklin (T.), M.A. EXAMINATION PAPERS IN THUCYDIDES.** Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- Nimrod.** See I. P. L.
- Norgate (G. Le Grys).** THE LIFE OF

SIR WALTER SCOTT. With 53 Illustrations by JENNY WYLIE. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. **NORWAY (A. H.) NAPLES. PAST AND PRESENT.** With 25 Coloured Illustrations by MAURICE GRIPPENHAGEN. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

NOVALIS. THE DISCIPLES AT SAIS AND OTHER FRAGMENTS. Edited by Miss UNA BIRCH. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Officer (An). See I. P. L. **Oldfield (W. J.), M.A.** Prebendary of Lincoln. A PRIMER OF RELIGION. BASED ON THE CATECHISM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. **Oldham (F. M.), B.A.** See Textbooks of Science.

Oliphant (Mrs.). See Leaders of Religion. **Oliver, Thomas, M.D.** See New Library of Medicine.

Oman (C. W. C.), M.A. Fellow of All Souls', Oxford. A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE CONQUEST. With Maps. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Oppé (A. P.). See Classics of Art. **Ottley (R. L.), D.D.** See Handbooks of Theology and Leaders of Religion.

Overton (J. H.). See Leaders of Religion. **Owen (Douglas).** See Books on Business.

Oxford (M. N.), of Guy's Hospital. A HAND-BOOK OF NURSING. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Pakes (W. C. C.). THE SCIENCE OF HYGIENE. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 15s.

Parker (Eric). A BOOK OF THE ZOO; BY DAY AND NIGHT. With 24 Illustrations from Photographs by HENRY IRVING. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Parker (Gilbert), M.P. A LOVER'S DIARY. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Parkes (A. K.). SMALL LESSONS ON GREAT TRUTHS. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Parkinson (John). PARADISUS IN SOLE PARADISUS TERRESTRIS, OR A GARDEN OF ALL SORTS OF PLEASANT FLOWERS. Folio. £3. 2s. net.

Parsons (Mrs. C.). GARRICK AND HIS CIRCLE. With 36 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

THE INCOMPARABLE SIDDONS. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Pascal. See Library of Devotion. **Paston (George).** SOCIAL CARICATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With 214 Illustrations. Imperial Quarto. £2. 12s. 6d. net.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU AND HER TIMES With 24 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net. See also Little Books on Art and I.P.L.

Patmore (K. A.). THE COURT OF LOUIS XIII. With 16 Illustrations. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Patterson (A. H.). NOTES OF AN EAST COAST NATURALIST. Illustrated in Colour by F. SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

NATURE IN EASTERN NORFOLK. With 12 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

WILD LIFE ON A NORFOLK ESTUARY. With 40 Illustrations by the Author, and a Prefatory Note by Her Grace the DUCHESS OF BEDFORD. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

MAN AND NATURE ON TIDAL WATERS. With Illustrations by the Author. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Peacock (Netta). See Little Books on Art. **Peake (C. M. A.), F.R.H.S.** A CONCISE HANDBOOK OF GARDEN ANNUAL AND BIENNIAL PLANTS. With 24 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Peel (Robert), and Minchin (H. C.), M.A. OXFORD. With 100 Illustrations in Colour. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Peel (Sidney), late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Secretary to the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws. PRACTICAL LICENSING REFORM. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Pentin (Herbert), M.A. See Library of Devotion.

Petrie (W.M. Flinders), D.C.L., LL.D. Professor of Egyptology at University College. A HISTORY OF EGYPT. Fully Illustrated. In six volumes. Cr. 8vo. 6s. each.

VOL. I. FROM THE EARLIEST KINGS TO XVIITH DYNASTY. Sixth Edition.

VOL. II. THE XVIITH AND XVIIITH DYNASTIES. Fourth Edition.

VOL. III. XIXTH TO XXXTH DYNASTIES.

VOL. IV. EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. J. P. MAHAFFY, Lit.D.

VOL. V. EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. J. G. MILNE, M.A.

VOL. VI. EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A.

RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. Lectures delivered at University College, London. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

SYRIA AND EGYPT, FROM THE TELL ELAMARNA LETTERS. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. First Series, ivth to xith Dynasty. Edited by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. Illustrated by TRISTRAM ELLIS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

EGYPTIAN TALES. Translated from the Papyri. Second Series. xviith to xixth Dynasty. Illustrated by TRISTRAM ELLIS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

EGYPTIAN DECORATIVE ART. A Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Phillips (W. A.). See Oxford Biographies. **Phillipps (Eden).** MY DEVON YEAR.

With 38 Illustrations by J. LEV PETHY-BRIDGE. Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 6s.

UP-ALONG AND DOWN-ALONG. Illustrated by CLAUDE SHEPPERTON. Cr. 4to. 5s. net.

- Phythian (J. Ernest).** TREES IN NATURE, MYTH, AND ART. With 24 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Plarr (Victor G.).** M.A. See School Histories.
- Plato.** See Standard Library.
- Plautus.** THE CAPTIVI. Edited, with an Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary, by W. M. LINDSAY, Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Plowden-Wardlaw (J. T.),** B.A. See School Examination Series.
- Podmore (Frank).** MODERN SPIRITUALISM. Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.
- MESMERISM AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE:** A Short History of Mental Healing. Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Pollard (Alice).** See Little Books on Art.
- Pollard (Alfred W.).** THE SHAKESPEARE FOLIOS AND QUARTOS. With numerous Facsimiles. Folio. One Guinea net.
- Pollard (Eliza F.).** See Little Books on Art.
- Pollock (David),** M.I.N.A. See Books on Business.
- Potter (M. C.),** M.A., F.L.S. AN ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL BOTANY. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Powell (A. E.).** LIEUTENANT ROYAL ENGINEERS. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Power (J. O'Connor).** THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Price (Eleanor C.).** A PRINCESS OF THE OLD WORLD. With 21 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Price (L. L.),** M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxon. A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POLITICAL ECONOMY FROM ADAM SMITH TO ARNOLD TOYNBEE. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Protheroe (Ernest).** THE DOMINION OF MAN. GEOGRAPHY IN ITS HUMAN ASPECT. With 32 full-page Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- Psellus.** See Byzantine Texts.
- Pullen-Burry (B.).** IN A GERMAN COLONY; or, FOUR WEEKS IN NEW BRITAIN. With 8 Illustrations and 2 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Pycraft (W. P.).** BIRD LIFE. With 2 Illustrations in Colour by G. E. LODGE, and many from Drawings and Photographs. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- 'Q' (A. T. Quiller Couch). THE GOLDEN POMP. A PROCESSION OF ENGLISH LYRICS FROM SURREY TO SHIRLEY. Second and Cheaper Ed. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- G. R. and E. S. MR. WOODHOUSE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also published in a Colonial Edition.
- Rackham (R. B.),** M.A. See Westminster Commentaries.
- Ragg (Laura M.).** THE WOMEN ARTISTS OF BOLOGNA. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Ragg (Lonsdale),** B.D., Oxon. DANTE AND HIS ITALY. With 32 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Rahtz (F. J.),** M.A., B.Sc. HIGHER ENGLISH. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- JUNIOR ENGLISH. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Randolph (B. W.),** D.D. See Library of Devotion.
- Rannie (D. W.),** M.A. A STUDENTS HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- WORDSWORTH AND HIS CIRCLE. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Rashdall (Hastings),** M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. DOCTRINE AND DEVELOPMENT. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Raven (J. J.),** D.D., F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books.
- Raven-Hill (L.).** See Llewellyn (Owen).
- Rawlings (Gertrude Burford). COINS AND HOW TO KNOW THEM. With 206 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Rawstorne (Lawrence, Esq.).** See I.P.L.
- Raymond (Walter).** See School Histories.
- Rea (Lillian).** THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MARIE MADELEINE COUNTESS OF LA FAYETTE. With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Read (C. Stanford),** M.B. (Lond.), M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. FADS AND FEEDING. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Real Paddy (A).** See I.P.L.
- Reason (W.),** M.A. UNIVERSITY AND SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS. Edited by Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Redpath (H. A.),** M.A., D.Litt. See Westminster Commentaries.
- Rees (J. D.),** C.I.E., M.P. THE REAL INDIA. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Reich (Emil),** Doctor Juris. WOMAN THROUGH THE AGES. With 36 Illustrations. Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.
- Reynolds (Sir Joshua).** See Little Galleries.
- Rhodes (W. E.).** See School Histories.
- Ricketts (Charles).** See Classics of Art.
- Richardson (Charles).** THE COMPLETE FOXHUNTER. With 46 Illustrations, of which 4 are in Colour. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Richmond (Wilfrid),** Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. THE CREED IN THE EPISTLES. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Riehl (W. H.).** See Simplified German Texts.
- Roberts (M. E.).** See Channer (C. C.).
- Robertson (A.),** D.D., Lord Bishop of Exeter. REGNUM DEI. (The Bampton Lectures of 1901.) A New and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Robertson (C. Grant),** M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. SELECT STATUTES, CASES, AND CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1660-1832. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

- Robertson (C. Grant) and Bartholomew (J. G.), F.R.S.E. F.R.G.S. A HISTORICAL AND MODERN ATLAS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.** Demy Quarto. 4s. 6d. net.
- Robertson (Sir G. S.) K.C.S.I. CHITRAL: THE STORY OF A MINOR SIEGE.** With 8 Illustrations. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Robinson (Cecilia).** THE MINISTRY OF DEACONESES. With an Introduction by the late Archbishop of Canterbury. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Robinson (F. S.).** See Connoisseur's Library.
- Rochefoucauld (La).** See Little Library.
- Rodwell (G.), B.A. NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.** A Course for Beginners. With a Preface by WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Roe (Fred).** OLD OAK FURNITURE. With many Illustrations by the Author, including a frontispiece in colour. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Rogers (A. G. L.), M.A.** See Books on Business.
- Roland.** See Simplified French Texts.
- Romney (George).** See Little Galleries.
- Roscoe (E. S.).** See Little Guides.
- Rose (Edward).** THE ROSE READER. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. Also in 4 Parts. Parts I. and II. 6d. each; Part III. 8d.; Part IV. 10d.
- Rose (G. H.).** See Hey (H.) and Baring-Gould (S.).
- Rowntree (Joshua).** THE IMPERIAL DRUG TRADE. A RE-STATEMENT OF THE OPIUM QUESTION. Third Edition Revised. Cr. 8vo. 2s. net.
- Royde-Smith (N. G.).** THE PILLOW BOOK: A GARNER OF MANY MOODS. Collected by. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- POETS OF OUR DAY.** Selected, with an Introduction, by. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Ruble (A. E.), D.D.** See Junior School Books.
- Rumbold (The Right Hon. Sir Horace), Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.** THE AUSTRIAN COURT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. With 16 Illustrations. Second Ed. Demy 8vo. 18s. net.
- Russell (Archibald G. B.).** See Blake (William.)
- Russell (W. Clark).** THE LIFE OF ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD. With 12 Illustrations by F. BRANGWYN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Ryley (M. Beresford).** QUEENS OF THE RENAISSANCE. With 24 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Sainsbury (Harrington), M.D., F.R.C.P.** PRINCIPIA THERAPEUTICA. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- See also New Library of Medicine.
- St. Anselm.** See Library of Devotion.
- St. Augustine.** See Library of Devotion.
- St. Bernard.** See Library of Devotion.
- St. Cyres (Viscount).** See Oxford Biographies.
- St. Francis of Assisi.** THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF THE GLORIOUS MESSENGER, AND OF HIS FRIARS. Done into English, with Notes by WILLIAM HAZWOOD. With 40 Illustrations from Italian Painters. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.
- See also Library of Devotion and Standard Library.
- St. Francis de Sales.** See Library of Devotion.
- St. James.** See Churchman's Bible and Westminster Commentaries.
- St. Luke.** See Junior School Books.
- St. Mark.** See Junior School Books and Churchman's Bible.
- St. Matthew.** See Junior School Books.
- St. Paul.** SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. Edited by JAMES HOUGHTON KENNEDY, D.D., Assistant Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin. With Introduction, Dissertations, and Notes by J. SCHMITT. Cr. 8vo. 6s. See also Churchman's Bible and Westminster Commentaries.
- '**Saki' (H. Munro).** REGINALD. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Salmon (A. L.).** See Little Guides.
- Sanders (Lloyd).** THE HOLLAND HOUSE CIRCLE. With 24 Illustrations. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Sathas (C.).** See Byzantine Texts.
- Schmitt (John).** See Byzantine Texts.
- Schofield (A. T.), M.D., Hon. Phys. Freidenham Hospital.** See New Library of Medicine.
- Scudamore (Cyril).** See Little Guides.
- Scupoll (Dom. L.).** See Library of Devotion.
- Ségur (Madame de).** See Simplified French Texts.
- Sélincourt (E. de).** See Keats (John).
- Sélincourt (Hugh de).** GREAT RALEGH. With 16 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Sells (V. P.), M.A.** THE MECHANICS OF DAILY LIFE. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Seious (Edmund).** TOMMY SMITH'S ANIMALS. Illustrated by G. W. ORD. Eleventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. School Edition, 1s. 6d.
- TOMMY SMITH'S OTHER ANIMALS. Illustrated by AUGUSTA GUEST. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Senter (George), B.Sc. (Lond.), Ph.D. See Textbooks of Science.
- Shakespeare (William).**
- THE FOUR FOLIOS, 1623; 1632; 1664; 1685. Each £4, 4s. net, or a complete set, £12, 12s. net.
- Folios 2, 3 and 4 are ready.
- THE POEMS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. With an Introduction and Notes

- by George Washington. Demy 8vo. 5s.
— gilt top. 10s. net.
See also Amer. Statesmen. Standard
Library and Amer. Statesmen.
- Sharp (A.). VICTORIAN POETS. Cr.
1s. 6d.
- Sharp (Cecil). See Racing-Guide (S.).
- Sharp Elizabeth. See Little Books on Art.
- Sheffield U. S., THE PIANOFORTE
SONATA. Cr. 1m. 5s.
- Sheley Percy B. See Scenic Library.
- Sheppard M. F. J. M.A. See Racing-
Guide (S.).
- Sherwood Arthur, M.A. LIFE IN WEST
LONDON. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo.
2s. 6d.
- Shirley Oliver R.J. AN ENGLISH
CHURCH HISTORY FOR CHILD-
REN. With a Preface by the Bishop of
Glasgow. With Maps and Illustrations.
Cr. 8vo. Each part 1s. 6d. net.
PART I.—To the Norman Conquest.
PART II.—To the Reformation.
- Sickert (Walter). See Oxford Biographies.
- Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred). HOME LIFE
IN GERMANY. With 25 Illustrations.
Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Sime (John). See Little Books on Art.
- Sismondi (G. A.). FRANCESCO
GUARDI. With 41 Plates. Imperial
8vo. £2. 2s. net.
- Sketchley (R. E. D.). See Little Books on
Art.
- Skipton (H. P. K.). See Little Books on
Art.
- Sladen (Douglas). SICILY: The New
Winter Resort. With over 200 Illustrations.
Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Smallwood (M. G.). See Little Books on
Art.
- Snedley (F. E.). See L.P.L.
- Smith (Adam). THE WEALTH OF
NATIONS. Edited with an Introduction
and numerous Notes by EDWIN CANNAN,
M.A. Two volumes. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.
- Smith (H. Beams). M.A. A NEW
JUNIOR ARITHMETIC. Crown 8vo.
Without Answers, 2s. With Answers, 2s. 6d.
- Smith (H. Clifford). See Connoisseur's
Library.
- Smith (Horace and James). See Little
Library.
- Smith (R. Mudie). THOUGHTS FOR
THE DAY. Edited by. Fcap. 8vo.
3s. 6d. net.
- Smith (Nowell C.). See Wordsworth (W.).
- Smith (John Thomas). A BOOK FOR
A RAINY DAY: Or, Recollections of the
Events of the Years 1766-1833. Edited by
WILFRED WHITTEN. Illustrated. Wide
Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Snell (F. J.). A BOOK OF EXMOOR.
Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Snowden (C. E.). A HANDY DIGEST OF
BRITISH HISTORY. Demy 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Sophocles. See Classical Translations.
- Sornet (L. A.), and Acatos (M. J.) See
Junior School Books.
- Southey (R.). ENGLISH SEAMEN
Edited by DAVID HANNAH.
Vol. I. (Hawes, Cifford, Hawkins,
Tennant, Compton). Second Edition. Cr.
1m. 6d.
- Vol. II. (Richard Hawkins, Gerville,
Eaton, and Daugh). Cr. 1m. 6s.
See also Scenic Library.
- Sauvage (E.). See Simplified French Texts.
- Spencer (C. H.), M.A. See School Examina-
tion Series.
- Spicer (A. Dylan), M.A. THE PAPER
TRADE: A Descriptive and Historical
Survey. With Diagrams and Plans. Demy
8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Spanner (W. A.), M.A. See Leaders of
Religion.
- Springer (W. Hartland), M.A. See Junior
School Books.
- Stanley (Edgar). THE GUILDS OF
FLORENCE. Illustrated. Second Edition.
Royal 8vo. 16s. net.
- Stanbridge (J. W.), R.D. See Library of
Devotion.
- "Standiford." GOLF DO'S AND DON'TS.
Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.
- Stead (D. W.). See Gallaher (D.).
- Stephens (A. M. M.), M.A. INITIALATINA: Easy Lessons on Ele-
mentary Accidence. Eleventh Edition. Fcap.
8vo. 1s.
- FIRST LATIN LESSONS. Eleventh Edi-
tion. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- FIRST LATIN READER. With Notes
adapted to the Shorter Latin Primer and
Vocabulary. Seventh Edition. 18mo.
1s. 6d.
- EASY SELECTIONS FROM CESAR.
The Helvetian War. Fourth Edition.
18mo. 1s.
- EASY SELECTIONS FROM LIVY. The
Kings of Rome. Second Edition. 18mo.
1s. 6d.
- EASY LATIN PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN
TRANSLATION. Thirteenth Ed. Fcap.
8vo. 1s. 6d.
- EXEMPLA LATINA. First Exercises
in Latin Accidence. With Vocabulary.
Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s.
- EASY LATIN EXERCISES ON THE
SYNTAX OF THE SHORTER AND
REVISED LATIN PRIMER. With
Vocabulary. Thirteenth Ed. Cr. 8vo.
1s. 6d. KEY, 2s. net.
- THE LATIN COMPOUND SENTENCE:
Rules and Exercises. Second Edition.
Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d. With Vocabulary. 2s.
- NOTANDA QUAEDAM: Miscellaneous
Latin Exercises on Common Rules and
Idioms. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
With Vocabulary. 2s. KEY, 2s. net.
- LATIN VOCABULARIES FOR REPE-
TITION: Arranged according to Sub-
jects. Sixteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo.
1s. 6d.
- A VOCABULARY OF LATIN IDIOMS.
18mo. Fourth Edition. 1s.

- STEPS TO GREEK.** *Fourth Edition.* 18mo. 1s.
- A SHORTER GREEK PRIMER.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- EASY GREEK PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION.** *Fourth Edition, revised.* Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- GREEK VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION.** Arranged according to Subjects. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- GREEK TESTAMENT SELECTIONS.** For the use of Schools. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- STEPS TO FRENCH.** *Ninth Edition.* 18mo. 8d.
- FIRST FRENCH LESSONS.** *Ninth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 1s.
- EASY FRENCH PASSAGES FOR UNSEEN TRANSLATION.** *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- EASY FRENCH EXERCISES ON ELEMENTARY SYNTAX.** With Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. KEY. 3s. net.
- FRENCH VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION:** Arranged according to Subjects. *Fourteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 1s.
- See also School Examination Series.
- Steel (R. Elliott), M.A., F.C.S.** **THE WORLD OF SCIENCE.** With 147 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- See also School Examination Series.
- Stephenson (C.),** of the Technical College, Bradford, and **Suddards (F.).** See A TEXTBOOK DEALING WITH ORNAMENTAL DESIGN FOR WOVEN FABRICS. With 66 full-page Plates and numerous Diagrams in the Text. *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Sterne (Laurence).** See Little Library.
- Stewart (Katherine).** BY ALLAN WATER. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- RICHARD KENNOWAY AND HIS FRIENDS.** A Sequel to 'By Allan Water.' Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Stevenson (R. L.)** THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON TO HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS. Selected and Edited by SIDNEY COLVIN. *Eighth Edition, 2 vols.* Cr. 8vo. 12s.
- VAILIMA LETTERS.** With an Etched Portrait by WILLIAM STRANG. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. Buckram. 6s.
- THE LIFE OF R. L. STEVENSON.** See Balfour (G.).
- Stevenson (M. I.).** FROM SARANAC TO THE MARQUESAS. Being Letters written by Mrs. M. I. STEVENSON during 1887-88. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- LETTERS FROM SAMOA, 1891-95.** Edited and arranged by M. C. BALFOUR. With many Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Stoddart (Anna M.).** See Oxford Biographies.
- Stokes (F. G.), B.A.** HOURS WITH RABELAIS. From the translation of Sir T. URQUHART and P. A. MOTTEUX. With a Portrait in Photogravure. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Stone (S. J.).** POEMS AND HYMNS. With a Memoir by F. G. ELLERTON, M.A. With Portrait. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Storr (Vernon F.), M.A.** Canon of Winchester. DEVELOPMENT AND DIVINE PURPOSE Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Story (Alfred T.).** AMERICAN SHRINES IN ENGLAND. With 4 Illustrations in Colour, and 19 other Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- See also Little Guides.
- Straker (F.).** See Books on Business.
- Streane (A.W.), D.D.** See Churchman's Bible.
- Streatfeild (R. A.).** MODERN MUSIC AND MUSICIANS. With 24 Illustrations. *Second Ed.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- See also New Library of Music.
- Stroud (Henry), D.Sc., M.A.** ELEMENTARY PRACTICAL PHYSICS. With 115 Diagrams. *Second Edit., revised.* Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Sturch (F.).** Staff Instructor to the Surrey County Council. MANUAL TRAINING DRAWING (WOODWORK). With Solutions to Examination Questions, Orthographic, Isometric and Oblique Projection. With 50 Plates and 140 Figures. *Foolscap.* 5s. net.
- Suddards (F.).** See Stephenson (C.).
- Surtees (R. S.).** See I.P.L.
- Sutherland (William).** OLD AGE PENSIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, WITH SOME FOREIGN EXAMPLES. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Swanton (E. W.),** Member of the British Mycological Society. FUNGI AND HOW TO KNOW THEM. With 16 Coloured Plates by M. K. SPITTAL, and 32 Monotone Plates. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Symes (J. E.), M.A.** THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Sympson (E. Mansel), M.A., M.D.** See Ancient Cities.
- Tabor (Margaret E.).** THE SAINTS IN ART. With 20 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Tacitus.** AGRICOLA. Edited by R. F. DAVIS, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- GERMANIA.** By the same Editor. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- See also Classical Translations.
- Tallack (W.).** HOWARD LETTERS AND MEMORIES. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Tatham (Frederick).** See Blake (William).
- Tauer (J.).** See Library of Devotion.
- Taylor (A. E.).** THE ELEMENTS OF METAPHYSICS. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Taylor (P. G.), M.A.** See Commercial Series.
- Taylor (I. A.).** See Oxford Biographies.
- Taylor (John W.).** THE COMING OF THE SAINTS. With 26 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

- Taylor (T. M.), M.A.**, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. A CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF ROME. To the Reign of Domitian. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Teasdale-Buckell (G. T.).** THE COMPLETE SHOT. With 53 Illustrations. *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Tennyson (Alfred, Lord).** EARLY POEMS. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 6s. See also Little Library.
- IN MEMORIAM, MAUD, AND THE PRINCESS.** Edited by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Terry (C. S.).** See Oxford Biographies.
- Terry (F. J.), B.A.** ELEMENTARY LATIN. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- TEACHER'S HANDBOOK TO ELEMENTARY LATIN.** Containing the necessary supplementary matter to Pupil's edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Thackeray (W. M.).** See Little Library.
- Theobald (F. V.), M.A.** INSECT LIFE. Illustrated. *Second Edition Revised.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Thibaudieu (A. C.).** BONAPARTE AND THE CONSULATE. Translated and Edited by G. K. FORTESQUE, LL.D. With 12 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Thompson (A. H.).** See Little Guides.
- Thompson (Francis).** SELECTED POEMS OF FRANCIS THOMPSON. With a Biographical Note by WILFRID MEYNELL. With a Portrait in Photogravure. *Second Ed.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Thompson (A. P.).** See Textbooks of Technology.
- Thompson (J. M.).** Fellow and Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College, Oxford. JESUS ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Tleton (Mary W.).** DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. *Sixteenth Edition.* Medium 16mo. 2s. 6d. net. Also an edition in superior binding, 6s.
- Tompkins (H. W.), F.R.H.S.** See Little Books on Art and Little Guides.
- Toynbee (Paget), M.A., D.Litt.** IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF DANTE. A Treasury of Verse and Prose from the works of Dante. Small Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- DANTE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE: FROM CHAUCER TO CARY.** Two vols. Demy 8vo. 21s. net.
- See also Oxford Biographies and Dante.
- Tozer (Basil).** THE HORSE IN HISTORY. With 25 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Tremayne (Eleanor E.).** See Romantic History.
- Treach (Herbert).** DEIRDRE WEDDED, AND OTHER POEMS. *Second and Revised Edition.* Large Post 8vo. 6s.
- NEW POEMS.** *Second Edition.* Large Post 8vo. 6s.
- APOLLO AND THE SEAMAN.** Large Post 8vo. Paper, 1s. 6d. net; cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Trevelyan (G. M.), Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.** ENGLAND UNDER THE STUARTS. With Maps and Plans. *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- ENGLISH LIFE THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO:** Being the first two chapters of *England under the Stuarts.* Edited by J. TURKELL, B.A. Cr. 8vo. 1s.
- Triggs (H. Inigo), A.R.I.B.A.** TOWN PLANNING: PAST, PRESENT, AND POSSIBLE. With 173 Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo. 15s. net.
- Troutbeck (G. E.).** See Little Guides.
- Tyler (E. A.), B.A., F.C.S.** See Junior School Books.
- Tyrrell-Gill (Frances).** See Little Books on Art.
- Unwin (George).** See Antiquary's Books.
- Vardon (Harry).** THE COMPLETE GOLFER. With 63 Illustrations. *Tenth Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Vaughan (Henry).** See Little Library.
- Vaughan (Herbert M.), B.A. (Oxon.).** THE LAST OF THE ROYAL STUARTS, HENRY STUART, CARDINAL, DUKE OF YORK. With 20 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- THE MEDICI POPES (LEO X. AND CLEMENT VII).** With 20 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- THE NAPLES RIVIERA.** With 25 Illustrations in Colour by MAURICE GRIFFEN-HAGEN. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Vernon (Hon. W. Warren), M.A.** READINGS ON THE INFERNO OF DANTE. With an Introduction by the Rev. Dr. MOORE. *In Two Volumes.* *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.
- READINGS ON THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE.** With an Introduction by the late DEAN CHURCH. *In Two Volumes.* *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.
- READINGS ON THE PARADISO OF DANTE.** With an Introduction by the BISHOP OF RIPON. *In Two Volumes.* *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.
- Vincent (J. E.).** THROUGH EAST ANGLIA IN A MOTOR CAR. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by FRANK SOUTHGATE, R.B.A., and a Map. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Voegelin (A.), M.A.** See Junior Examination Series.
- Waddell (Col. L. A.), LL.D., C.B.** LHASA AND ITS MYSTERIES. With a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904. With 155 Illustrations and Maps. *Third and Cheaper Edition.* Medium 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Wade (G. W.), D.D.** OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. With Maps. *Sixth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wade (G. W.), D.D., and Wade (J. H.), M.A.** See Little Guides.
- Wagner (Richard).** RICHARD WAGNER'S MUSIC DRAMAS: Interpretations, embodying Wagner's own explanations. By ALICE LEIGHTON CLEATHER and BASIL CRUMP. *In Three Volumes.* Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. each.

- VOL. I.—THE RING OF THE NIBELUNG.** *Third Edition.*
- VOL. II.—PARSIFAL, LOHENGRIN, and THE HOLY GRAIL.**
- VOL. III.—TRISTAN AND ISOLDE.**
- Walneman (Paul).** A SUMMER TOUR IN FINLAND. With 16 Illustrations in Colour by ALEXANDER FEDERLEY, 16 other Illustrations and a Map. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- Walkley (A. B.).** DRAMA AND LIFE. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Wall (J. C.).** See Antiquary's Books.
- Wallace-Hadrill (F.).** Second Master at Herne Bay College. REVISION NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.
- Walters (H. B.).** See Little Books on Art and Classics of Art.
- Walton (F. W.), M.A.** See School Histories.
- Walton (Izaak) and Cotton (Charles).** See I.P.L. and Little Library.
- Waterhouse (Elizabeth).** WITH THE SIMPLE-HEARTED: Little Homilies to Women in Country Places. *Second Edition.* *Small Pott 8vo.* 2s. net.
- COMPANIONS OF THE WAY.** Being Selections for Morning and Evening Reading. Chosen and arranged by ELIZABETH WATERHOUSE. *Large Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- THOUGHTS OF A TERTIARY.** *Poet 8vo.* 1s. net.
- See also Little Library.
- Watt (Francis).** See Henderson (T. F.).
- Weatherhead (T. C.), M.A.** EXAMINATION PAPERS IN HORACE. *Cr. 8vo.* 2s.
- See also Junior Examination Series.
- Webb (George W.), B.A.** A SYSTEMATIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES. With Maps and Diagrams. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.
- Webber (F. C.).** See Textbooks of Technology.
- ***Weigall (Arthur E. P.).** A GUIDE TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF UPPER EGYPT: From Abydos to the Sudan Frontier. With 67 Maps, and Plans. *Cr. 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Weir (Archibald), M.A.** AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Welch (Catharine).** THE LITTLE DAUPHIN. With 16 Illustrations. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Wells (Sidney H.).** See Textbooks of Science.
- Wells (J.), M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College.** OXFORD AND OXFORD LIFE. *Third Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF ROME. *Ninth Edition.* With 3 Maps. *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d.
- See also Little Guides.
- Wesley (John).** See Library of Devotion.
- Westell (W. Percival).** THE YOUNG NATURALIST. A GUIDE TO BRITISH ANIMAL LIFE. With 8 Coloured Plates by C. F. NEWALL, and 240 specially selected Photographs from the collections of well-known amateur photographers. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- Westell (W. Percival), F.L.S., M.B.O.U.,** and Cooper (C. S.), F.R.H.S. THE YOUNG BOTANIST. With 8 Coloured and 63 Black and White Plates drawn from Nature, by C. F. NEWALL. *Cr. 8vo.* 3s. 6d. net.
- Whibley (C.).** See Henley (W. E.).
- Whibley (L.), M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.** GREEK OLIGARCHIES: THEIR ORGANISATION AND CHARACTER. *Cr. 8vo.* 6s.
- White (Eustace E.).** THE COMPLETE HOCKEY PLAYER. With 32 Illustrations. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 5s. net.
- White (George F.), Lieut.-Col.** A CENTURY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- Whilte (Gilbert).** See Standard Library.
- Whitfield (E. E.), M.A.** See Commercial Series.
- Whitehead (A. W.).** GASPARD DE COLIGNY, ADMIRAL OF FRANCE. With 26 Illustrations and 10 Maps and Plans. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- Whitley (R. Lloyd), F.I.C.** Principal of the Municipal Science School, West Bromwich. AN ELEMENTARY TEXT-BOOK OF INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- Whitley (Miss).** See Dilke (Lady).
- Whitting (Miss L.), late Staff Teacher of the National Training School of Cookery.** THE COMPLETE COOK. With 42 Illustrations. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- Whitten (W.).** See Smith (John Thomas).
- Whyte (A. G.), B.Sc.** See Books on Business.
- Wilberforce (Wilfrid).** See Little Books on Art.
- Wilde (Oscar).** DE PROFUNDIS. *Twelfth Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- THE WORKS OF OSCAR WILDE. In 12 Volumes. *Fcap. 8vo.* Gilt top. Deckle edge. 5s. net each volume.
- L LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME and the PORTRAIT OF MR. W. H. IL THE DUCHESS OF PADUA. III. POEMS (including 'The Sphinx,' 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol,' and 'Uncollected Pieces') IV. LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. V. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE. VI. AN IDEAL HUSBAND. VII. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST. VIII. A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. IX. INTENTIONS. X. DE PROFUNDIS and PRISON LETTERS. XI. ESSAYS ('Historical Criticism,' 'English Renaissance,' 'London Models,' 'Poems in Prose'). XII. SALOMÉ, A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, LA SAINTE COURISANE.
- Wilkins (W. H.), B.A.** THE ALIEN INVASION. *Cr. 8vo.* 2s. 6d.
- Williams (H. Noel).** THE WOMEN BONAPARTES. The Mother and three Sisters of Napoleon. With 36 Illustrations. *In Two Volumes.* *Demy 8vo.* 24s. net.
- A ROSE OF SAVOY: MARIE ADELAÏDE OF SAVOY, DUCHESSE DE BOURGOGNE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XV. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure and 16 other Illustrations. *Second Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.

- Williams (A.). PETROL PETER: or Pretty Stories and Funny Pictures. Illustrated in Colour by A. W. MILLS. Demy 4to. 3s. 6d. net.
- Williamson (M. G.), M.A. See Ancient Cities.
- Williamson (W.), B.A. See Junior Examination Series, Junior School Books, and Beginner's Books.
- Willmot-Buxton (E. M.), F.R.Hist.S. MAKERS OF EUROPE. Outlines of European History for the Middle Forms of Schools. With 12 Maps. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE ANCIENT WORLD. With Maps and Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- A BOOK OF NOBLE WOMEN. With 16 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN: FROM THE COMING OF THE ANGLES TO THE YEAR 1870. With 20 Maps. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- BY ROAD AND RIVER. A Descriptive Geography of the British Isles. With 12 Illustrations and 12 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 2s. See also Beginner's Books and New Historical Series.
- Wilson (Bishop.). See Library of Devotion.
- Wilson (A. J.). See Books on Business.
- Wilson (H. A.). See Books on Business.
- Wilton (Richard), M.A. LYRA PASTORALIS: Songs of Nature, Church, and Home. Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Winbolt (S. E.), M.A. EXERCISES IN LATIN ACCIDENCE. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- LATIN HEXAMETRE VERSE: An Aid to Composition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. KEY, 5s. net.
- Windle (B. C. A.), D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A. See Antiquary's Books, Little Guides, Ancient Cities, and School Histories.
- Wood (Sir Evelyn), F.M., V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. FROM MIDSHIPMAN TO FIELD-MARSHAL. With Illustrations, and 29 Maps. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- THE REVOLT IN HINDUSTAN. 1857-59. With 8 Illustrations and 5 Maps. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wood (J. A. E.). See Textbooks of Technology.
- Wood (J. Hickory), DAN LENO. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wood (W. Birkbeck), M.A., late Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, and Edmonds (Major J. E.), R.E., D.A.Q.M.G. A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES. With an Introduction by H. SPENSER WILKINSON. With 24 Maps and Plans. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Wordsworth (Christopher), M.A. See Antiquary's Books.
- Wordsworth (W.). THE POEMS OF. With an Introduction and Notes by NOWELL C. SMITH, late Fellow of New College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- POEMS BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Selected with an Introduction by STOFPORD A. BROOKE. With 40 Illustrations by E. H. NEW, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. See also Little Library.
- Wordsworth (W.) and Coleridge (S. T.). See Little Library.
- Wright (Arthur), D.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. See Churchman's Library.
- Wright (C. Gordon). See Dante.
- Wright (J. C.). TO-DAY. Thoughts on Life for every day. Demy 16mo. 1s. 6d. net.
- Wright (Sophie). GERMAN VOCABULARIES FOR REPETITION. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Wyatt (Kate M.). See Glaag (M. R.).
- Wyld (A. B.). MODERN ABYSSINIA. With a Map and a Portrait. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- Wyllie (M. A.). NORWAY AND ITS FJORDS. With 16 Illustrations, in Colour by W. L. WYLIE, R.A., and 17 other Illustrations. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wyndham (Geo.). See Shakespeare (Wm.).
- Yeats (W. B.). A BOOK OF IRISH VERSE. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Young (Filson). THE COMPLETE MOTORIST. With 138 Illustrations. New Edition (Seventh), with many additions. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- THE JOY OF THE ROAD: An Appreciation of the Motor Car. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure. Sm. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.
- Zachariahs of Mitylene. See Byzantine Texts.
- Zimmern (Antonia). WHAT DO WE KNOW CONCERNING ELECTRICITY? Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.

Ancient Cities

General Editor, B. C. A. WINDLE, D.Sc., F.R.S.

Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

- BRISTOL. By Alfred Harvey, M.B. Illustrated by E. H. New.
- CANTERBURY. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. Illustrated by B. C. Boulter.
- CHESTER. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc. F.R.S. Illustrated by E. H. New.
- DUBLIN. By S. A. O. Fitzpatrick. Illustrated by W. C. Green.

- EDINBURGH. By M. G. Williamson, M.A. Illustrated by Herbert Railton.
- LINCOLN. By E. Mansel Sympson, M.A., M.D. Illustrated by E. H. New.
- SHEREWSBURY. By T. Auden, M.A., F.S.A. Illustrated by Katharine M. Roberts.
- WELLS and GLASTONBURY. By T. S. Holmes. Illustrated by E. H. New.

The Antiquary's Books

General Editor, J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

- ARCHÆOLOGY AND FALSE ANTIQUITIES.** By R. Munro, LL.D. With 81 Illustrations.
BELLS OF ENGLAND, THE. By Canon J. J. Raven, D.D., F.S.A. With 60 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*
BRASSES OF ENGLAND, THE. By Herbert W. Macklin, M.A. With 85 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*
CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES. By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. With 44 Plates and numerous Illustrations.
DOMESDAY INQUEST, THE. By Adolphus Ballard, B.A., LL.B. With 27 Illustrations.
ENGLISH CHURCH FURNITURE. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., and A. Harvey, M.B. With 121 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*
ENGLISH COSTUME. From Prehistoric Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By George Clinch, F.G.S. With 131 Illustrations.
ENGLISH MONASTIC LIFE. By the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B. With 50 Illustrations, Maps and Plans. *Fourth Edition.*
ENGLISH SEALS. By J. Harvey Bloom. With 93 Illustrations.
- FOLK-LORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE.** By G. L. Gomme. With 28 Illustrations.
GILDS AND COMPANIES OF LONDON, THE. By George Unwin. With 37 Illustrations.
MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS, THE. By Nathaniel J. Hone. With 54 Illustrations.
MEDIEVAL HOSPITALS OF ENGLAND, THE. By Rother Mary Clay. With many Illustrations.
OLD SERVICE BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., and Henry Littlehales. With 38 Coloured and other Illustrations.
PARISH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By the Right Rev. Abbott Gasquet, O.S.B. With 39 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*
REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND. By B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S. With 94 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*
ROYAL FORESTS OF ENGLAND, THE. By J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. With 25 Plates and 23 other Illustrations.
SHRINES OF BRITISH SAINTS. By J. C. Wall. With 28 Plates and 50 other Illustrations.

The Arden Shakespeare

Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume.

An edition of Shakespeare in single Plays. Edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary at the foot of the page.

- ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.** Edited by W. O. Briggstocke.
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. Edited by R. H. Case.
CYMBELINE. Edited by E. Dowden.
COMEDY OF ERRORS, THE. Edited by Henry Cunningham.
HAMLET. Edited by E. Dowden. *Second Edition.*
JULIUS CAESAR. Edited by M. Macmillan.
KING HENRY V. Edited by H. A. Evans.
KING HENRY VI. PT. I. Edited by H. C. Hart.
KING HENRY VI. PT. II. Edited by H. C. Hart and C. K. Pooler.
KING LEAR. Edited by W. J. Craig.
KING RICHARD III. Edited by A. H. Thompson.
LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN, THE. Edited by Ivor B. John.
LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. Edited by H. C. Hart.
***MACBETH.** Edited by H. Cunningham.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE. Edited by H. C. Hart.
MERCHANT OF VENICE, THE. Edited by C. K. Pooler.
MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, THE. Edited by H. C. Hart.
A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Edited by H. Cunningham.
OTHELLO. Edited by H. C. Hart.
PERICLES. Edited by K. Deighton.
ROMEO AND JULIET. Edited by Edward Dowden.
TAMING OF THE SHREW, THE. Edited by R. Warwick Bond.
TEMPEST, THE. Edited by M. Luce.
TIMON OF ATHENS. Edited by K. Deighton.
TITUS ANDRONICUS. Edited by H. B. Baldwin.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. Edited by K. Deighton.
TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, THE. Edited by R. W. Bond.
TWELFTH NIGHT. Edited by M. Luce.

The Beginner's Books

Edited by W. WILLIAMSON, B.A.

EASY DICTATION AND SPELLING. By W.Williamson, B.A. *Seventh Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.**EASY EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC.** Arranged
by W. S. Beard. *Third Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.*
2s. Without Answers, 1s. With Answers,
1s. 3d.**EASY FRENCH RHYMES.** By Henri Blotet.*Second Edition.* Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.**AN EASY POETRY BOOK.** Selected and
arranged by W. Williamson, B.A. *Second
Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.**EASY STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY.** By
E. M. Wilmet-Buxton, F.R.Hist.S. *Fifth
Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.* 1s.**A FIRST HISTORY OF GREECE.** By E. E. Firth.
With 7 Maps. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s. 6d.**STORIES FROM ROMAN HISTORY.** By E. M.
Wilmet-Buxton. *Second Edition.* *Cr. 8vo.*
1s. 6d.**STORIES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.** By
E. M. Wilmet-Buxton. *Cr. 8vo.* 1s. 6d.

Books on Business

Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.**AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, THE.** G. Holden-
Store.**BREWING INDUSTRY, THE.** J. L. Baker,
F.I.C., F.C.S. With 88 Illustrations.**BUSINESS OF ADVERTISING, THE.** C. G.
Moran. With 11 Illustrations.**BUSINESS SIDE OF AGRICULTURE, THE.** A.
G. L. Rogers.**BUSINESS OF INSURANCE, THE.** A. J. Wilson.**CIVIL ENGINEERING.** C. T. Fidler. With 15
Illustrations.**COTTON INDUSTRY AND TRADE, THE.** S. J.
Chapman. With 8 Illustrations.**THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY: LIGHTING,****TRACTION, AND POWER.** A. G. Whyte,**IRON TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE.** J.
S. Jeans. With 12 Illustrations.**LAW IN BUSINESS.** H. A. Wilson.
MINING AND MINING INVESTMENTS. A.
Moil.**MONEY MARKET, THE.** F. Straker.
MONOPOLIES, TRUSTS, AND KARTELLS. F.
W. Hirst.**PORTS AND DOCKS.** Douglas Owen.
RAILWAYS. E. R. McDermott.**SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY THE: Its History,
Practice, Science, and Finance.** David
Pollock, M.I.N.A.**STOCK EXCHANGE, THE.** C. Duguid. *Second
Edition.***TRADE UNIONS.** G. Drage.

Byzantine Texts

Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A., Litt.D.

**THE SYRIAC CHRONICLE KNOWN AS THAT OF
ZACHARIAH OF MITYLENE.** Translated by
F. J. Hamilton, D.D., and E. W. Brooks.
Demy 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.**EVAGRIUS.** Edited by L. Bider and Léon
Parmentier. *Demy 8vo.* 1s. 6d. net.**THE HISTORY OF PSELLUS.** Edited by C.
Sathas. *Demy 8vo.* 1s. net.**ECCLESIS CHRONICA AND CHRONICON ATHENI-
ARUM.** Edited by Professor S. P. Lambros.
Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.**THE CHRONICLE OF MOREA.** Edited by John
Schmitt. *Demy 8vo.* 1s. 6d. net.

The Churchman's Bible

General Editor, J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net each.**THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE GALATIANS.** Explained by A. W.
Robinson, M.A. *Second Edition.***ECCLESIASTES.** Explained by A. W. Streane,
D.D.**THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE PHILIPPIANS.** Explained by C. R. D.
Biggs, D.D. *Second Edition.***THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES.** Explained by
H. W. Fulford M.A.**ISAIAH.** Explained by W. E. Barnes, D.D.
Two Volumes. With Map. 2s. net each.**THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE EPHESIANS.** Explained by G. H. Whi-
taker, M.A.**THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.**
Explained by J. C. Du Buisson, M.A.
2s. 6d. net.**THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO
THE COLOSSIANS AND PHILEMON.** Ex-
plained by H. J. C. Knight. 2s. net.

The Churchman's Library

General Editor, J. H. BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY.
By W. E. Collins, M.A. With Map.**THE CHURCHMAN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.** By A. M. Mackay, B.A.
*Second Edition.***EVOLUTION.** By F. B. Jevons, M.A., Litt.D.**SOME NEW TESTAMENT PROBLEMS.** By Arthur Wright, D.D. 6s.**THE WORKMANSHIP OF THE PRAYER BOOK:**
Its Literary and Liturgical Aspects. By J. Dowden, D.D. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.***Classical Translations**

Crown 8vo.

AESCHYLUS—The Oresteian Trilogy (Agamemnon, Choëphoroe, Eumenides). Translated by Lewis Campbell, LL.D. 5s.**CICERO**—De Oratore I. Translated by E. N. P. Moor, M.A. *Second Edition.* 3s. 6d.**CICERO**—The Speeches against Cataline and Antony and for Murena and Milo. Translated by H. E. D. Blakiston, M.A. 5s.**CICERO**—De Natura Deorum. Translated by F. Brooks, M.A. 3s. 6d.**CICERO**—De Officiis. Translated by G. B. Gardiner, M.A. 2s. 6d.**HORACE**—The Odes and Epodes. Translated by A. D. Godley, M.A. 2s.**LUCIAN**—Six Dialogues Translated by S. T. Irwin, M.A. 3s. 6d.**SOPHOCLES**—Ajax and Electra. Translated by E. D. Morshead, M.A. 2s. 6d.**TACITUS**—Agricola and Germania. Translated by R. B. Townshend. 2s. 6d.**JUVENAL**—Thirteen Satires. Translated by S. G. Owen, M.A. 2s. 6d.**Classics of Art**

Edited by DR. J. H. W. LAING.

Wide Royal 8vo. *Gilt top.***THE ART OF THE GREEKS.** By H. B. Walters. With 112 Plates and 18 Illustrations in the Text. 12s. 6d. net.**FLORENTINE SCULPTORS OF THE RENAISSANCE.** By Wilhelm Bode, Ph.D. Translated by Jessie Haynes. With 94 Plates. 12s. 6d. net.**GHIRLANDAIO.** By Gerald S. Davies, Master of the Charterhouse. With 50 Plates. *Second Edition.* 10s. 6d.**MICHELANGELO.** By Gerald S. Davies, Master of the Charterhouse. With 126 Plates. 12s. 6d. net.**RUBENS.** By Edward Dillon, M.A. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure and 483 Plates. 25s. net.**RAPHAEL.** By A. P. Oppé. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure and 200 Illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.***TITIAN.** By Charles Ricketts. With about 200 Illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.**VELAZQUEZ.** By A. de Beruete. With 94 Plates. 10s. 6d. net.**Commercial Series**

Crown 8vo.

BRITISH COMMERCE AND COLONIES FROM ELIZABETH TO VICTORIA. By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 2s.**COMMERCIAL EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. 1s. 6d.**THE ECONOMICS OF COMMERCE,** By H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D., M.A. *Second Edition.* 1s. 6d.**A GERMAN COMMERCIAL READER.** By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. 2s.**A COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.** By L. W. Lyde, M.A. *Eighth Edition.* 2s.**A COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF FOREIGN NATIONS.** By F. C. Boon, B.A. 2s.**A PRIMER OF BUSINESS.** By S. Jackson, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 1s. 6d.**A SHORT COMMERCIAL ARITHMETIC.** By F. G. Taylor, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* 1s. 6d.**FRENCH COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE.** By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Fourth Edition.* 2s.**GERMAN COMMERCIAL CORRESPONDENCE.** By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Second Edition.* 2s. 6d.**A FRENCH COMMERCIAL READER.** By S. E. Bally. With Vocabulary. *Second Edition.* 2s.**PRECIS WRITING AND OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE.** By E. E. Whitfield, M.A. *Second Edition.* 2s.**AN ENTRANCE GUIDE TO PROFESSIONS AND BUSINESS.** By H. Jones. 1s. 6d.**THE PRINCIPLES OF BOOK-KEEPING BY DOUBLE ENTRY.** By J. B. B. M'Allen, M.A. 2s.**COMMERCIAL LAW.** By W. Douglas Edwards. *Second Edition.* 2s.

The Connoisseur's Library*Wide Royal 8vo. 25s. net.*

- MEZZOTINTS.** By Cyril Davenport. With 40 Plates in Photogravure.
- PORCELAIN.** By Edward Dillon. With 19 Plates in Colour, 20 in Collotype, and 5 in Photogravure.
- MINIATURES.** By Dudley Heath. With 9 Plates in Colour, 15 in Collotype, and 15 in Photogravure.
- IVORIES.** By A. Maskell. With 80 Plates in Collotype and Photogravure.
- ENGLISH FURNITURE.** By F. S. Robinson. With 160 Plates in Collotype and one in Photogravure. *Second Edition.*
- ENGLISH COLOURED Books.** By Martin Hardie. With 28 Illustrations in Colour and Collotype.
- EUROPEAN ENAMELS.** By Henry H. Cuningham, C.B. With 54 Plates in Collotype and Half-tone and 4 Plates in Colour.
- GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK.** By Nelson Dawson. With 51 Plates in Collotype and a Frontispiece in Photogravure. *Second Edition.*
- GLASS.** By Edward Dillon. With 37 Illustrations in Collotype and 12 in Colour.
- SEALS.** By Walter de Gray Birch. With 52 Illustrations in Collotype and a Frontispiece in Photogravure.
- JEWELLERY.** By H. Clifford Smith. With 50 Illustrations in Collotype, and 4 in Colour. *Second Edition.*

Handbooks of English Church History*Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.***THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.** J. H. Maude.**THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST.** C. T. CRUTTWELL.**THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND THE PAPACY.** A. C. Jennings.**THE REFORMATION PERIOD.** By Henry Gee.**The Illustrated Pocket Library of Plain and Coloured Books***Fcap 8vo. 3s. 6d. net each volume.***COLOURED BOOKS****OLD COLOURED BOOKS.** By George Paston. With 16 Coloured Plates. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net.***THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN MYTTON, ESQ.** By Nimrod. With 18 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken and T. J. Rawlins. *Fifth Edition.***THE LIFE OF A SPORTSMAN.** By Nimrod. With 35 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken.**HANDLEY CROSS.** By R. S. Surtees. With 17 Coloured Plates and 100 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech. *Third Edition.***MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR.** By R. S. Surtees. With 13 Coloured Plates and 90 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech.**JORROCKS' JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES.** By R. S. Surtees. With 15 Coloured Plates by H. Alken. *Second Edition.***ASK MAMMA.** By R. S. Surtees. With 13 Coloured Plates and 70 Woodcuts in the Text by John Leech.**THE ANALYSIS OF THE HUNTING FIELD.** By R. S. Surtees. With 7 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken, and 43 Illustrations on Wood.**THE TOUR OF DR. SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF THE PICTURESQUE.** By William Combe. With 30 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.**THE TOUR OF DOCTOR SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF CONSOLATION.** By William Combe. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.**THE THIRD TOUR OF DOCTOR SYNTAX IN SEARCH OF A WIFE.** By William Combe. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.**THE HISTORY OF JOHNNY QUAE GENUS:** the Little Foundling of the late Dr. Syntax. By the Author of 'The Three Tours.' With 24 Coloured Plates by Rowlandson.**THE ENGLISH DANCE OF DEATH,** from the Designs of T. Rowlandson, with Metrical Illustrations by the Author of 'Doctor Syntax.' *Two Volumes.*This book contains 76 Coloured Plates. **THE DANCE OF LIFE:** A Poem. By the Author of 'Doctor Syntax.' Illustrated with 26 Coloured Engravings by T. Rowlandson.**LIFE IN LONDON:** or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq., and his Elegant Friend, Corinthian Tom. By Pierce Egan. With 36 Coloured Plates by I. R. and G. Cruikshank. With numerous Designs on Wood.**REAL LIFE IN LONDON:** or, the Rambles and Adventures of Bob Tallyho, Esq., and his Cousin, The Hon. Tom Dashall. By an Amateur (Pierce Egan). With 37 Coloured Plates by Alken and Rowlandson, etc. *Two Volumes.***THE LIFE OF AN ACTOR.** By Pierce Egan. With 27 Coloured Plates by Theodore Lane, and several Designs on Wood.**THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.** By Oliver Goldsmith. With 24 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.**THE MILITARY ADVENTURES OF JOHNNY NEWCOME.** By an Officer. With 15 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.

- ILLUSTRATED POCKET LIBRARY OF PLAIN AND COLOURED BOOKS—continued.**
- THE NATIONAL SPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.** With Descriptions and 50 Coloured Plates by Henry Alken.
- THE ADVENTURES OF A POST CAPTAIN.** By A Naval Officer. With 24 Coloured Plates by Mr. Williams.
- GAMONIA : or, the Art of Preserving Game ; and an Improved Method of making Plantations and Covers, explained and illustrated by Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq.** With 15 Coloured Plates by T. Rawlins.
- AN ACADEMY FOR GROWN HORSEMEN :** Containing the completest Instructions for Walking, Trotting, Cantering, Galloping, Stumbling, and Tumbling. Illustrated with 27 Coloured Plates, and adorned with a Portrait of the Author. By Geoffrey Gambado, Esq.
- REAL LIFE IN IRELAND,** or, the Day and Night Scenes of Brian Boru, Esq., and his Elegant Friend, Sir Shawn O'Dogherty. By a Real Paddy. With 19 Coloured Plates by Heath, Marks, etc.
- THE ADVENTURES OF JOHNNY NEWCOME IN THE NAVY.** By Alfred Burton. With 16 Coloured Plates by T. Rowlandson.
- THE OLD ENGLISH SQUIRE :** A Poem. By John Careless, Esq. With 20 Coloured Plates after the style of T. Rowlandson.
- THE ENGLISH SPV.** By Bernard Blackmantle. An original Work, Characteristic, Satirical, Humorous, comprising scenes and sketches in every Rank of Society, being Portraits of the Illustrious, Eminent, Eccentric, and Notorious. With 72 Coloured Plates by R. CRUIKSHANK, and many Illustrations on wood. *Two Volumes.* 7s. net.

PLAIN BOOKS

- THE GRAVE :** A Poem. By Robert Blair. Illustrated by 12 Etchings executed by Louis Schiavonetti from the original Inventions of William Blake. With an Engraved Title Page and a Portrait of Blake by T. Phillips, R.A. The illustrations are reproduced in photogravure.
- ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB.** Illustrated and engraved by William Blake. These famous Illustrations—21 in number—are reproduced in photogravure.
- WINDSOR CASTLE** By W. Harrison Ainsworth. With 22 Plates and 87 Woodcuts in the Text by George Cruikshank.
- THE TOWER OF LONDON.** By W. Harrison Ainsworth. With 40 Plates and 58 Woodcuts in the Text by George Cruikshank.
- FRANK FAIRLEIGH.** By F. E. Smedley. With 30 Plates by George Cruikshank.
- HANDY ANDY.** By Samuel Lover. With 24 Illustrations by the Author.
- THE COMPLEAT ANGLER.** By Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With 14 Plates and 77 Woodcuts in the Text.
- THE PICKWICK PAPERS.** By Charles Dickens. With the 43 Illustrations by Seymour and Phiz, the two Buss Plates, and the 32 Contemporary Onwhyn Plates.

Junior Examination Series

Edited by A. M. M. STEDMAN, M.A. *Facap. 8vo. 1s.*

- JUNIOR ALGEBRA EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By S. W. Finn, M.A.
- JUNIOR ARITHMETIC EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By W. S. Beard. *Fifth Edition.*
- JUNIOR ENGLISH EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By W. Williamson, B.A. *Second Edition.*
- JUNIOR FRENCH EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By F. Jacob, M.A. *Second Edition.*
- JUNIOR GENERAL INFORMATION EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By W. S. Beard. KEY, 3s. 6d. net.
- JUNIOR GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By W. G. Baker, M.A.
- JUNIOR GERMAN EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By A. Vogelin, M.A.
- JUNIOR GREEK EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By T. C. Weatherhead, M.A. KEY, 3s. 6d. net.
- JUNIOR LATIN EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By C. G. Botting, B.A. *Sixth Edition.* KEY, 3s. 6d. net.
- JUNIOR HISTORY EXAMINATION PAPERS.** By W. O. P. Davies.

Methuen's Junior School-Books

Edited by O. D. INSKIP, LL.D., and W. WILLIAMSON, B.A.

- A CLASS-BOOK OF DICTATION PASSAGES.** By W. Williamson, B.A. *Fifteenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW.** Edited by E. Wilton South, M.A. With Three Maps. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.** Edited by A. E. Rubie, D.D. With Three Maps. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- A JUNIOR ENGLISH GRAMMAR.** By W. Williamson, B.A. With numerous passages for parsing and analysis, and a chapter on Essay Writing. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- A JUNIOR CHEMISTRY.** By E. A. Tyler, B.A., F.C.S. With 78 Illustrations. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.** Edited by A. E. Rubie, D.D. Cr. 8vo. 2s.

METHUEN'S JUNIOR SCHOOL BOOKS—continued.

- A JUNIOR FRENCH GRAMMAR. By L. A. Sornet and M. J. Acatos. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- ELEMENTARY EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE. PHYSICS by W. T. Clough, A.R.C.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. CHEMISTRY by A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With 2 Plates and 154 Diagrams. *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- A JUNIOR GEOMETRY. By Noel S. Lydon. With 276 Diagrams. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- ELEMENTARY EXPERIMENTAL CHEMISTRY. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With 4 Plates and 109 Diagrams. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- A JUNIOR FRENCH PROSE. By R. R. N. Baron, M.A. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE. With an Introduction and Notes by William Williamson, B.A. With Three Maps. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS. Edited by A. E. Rubie, D.D. With 4 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 2s.
- A JUNIOR GREEK HISTORY. By W. H. Spragge, M.A. With 4 Illustrations and 5 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- A SCHOOL LATIN GRAMMAR. By H. G. Ford, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- A JUNIOR LATIN PROSE. By H. N. Asman, M.A., B.D. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- *ELEMENTARY EXPERIMENTAL ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. By W. T. Clough, A.R.C.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With 200 Illustrations and Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- ENGLISH LITERATURE FOR SCHOOLS. By Edith E. Firth. With 4 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Leaders of Religion

Edited by H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Canon of Westminster. *With Portraits.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. net.

- CARDINAL NEWMAN. By R. H. Hutton.
 JOHN WESLEY. By J. H. Overton, M.A.
 BISHOP WILBERFORCE. By G. W. Daniell, M.A.
 CARDINAL MANNING. By A. W. Hutton, M.A.
 CHARLES SIMEON. By H. C. G. Moule, D.D.
 JOHN KNOX. By F. MacCunn. *Second Edition.*
 JOHN HOWE. By R. F. Horton, D.D.
 THOMAS KEN. By F. A. Clarke, M.A.
 GEORGE FOX, THE QUAKER. By T. Hodgkin, D.C.L. *Third Edition.*
 JOHN KEBLE. By Walter Lock, D.D.

- THOMAS CHALMERS. By Mrs. Oliphant.
 LANCKLOT ANDREWES. By R. L. Ottley, D.D. *Second Edition.*
 AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY. By E. L. Cutts, D.D.
 WILLIAM LAUD. By W. H. Hutton, M.A. *Third Edition.*
 JOHN DONNE. By Augustus Jessopp, D.D.
 THOMAS CRAMER. By A. J. Mason, D.D.
 BISHOP LATIMER. By R. M. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, M.A.
 BISHOP BUTLER. By W. A. Spooner, M.A.

The Library of Devotion

With Introductions and (where necessary) Notes.

Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s.; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

- THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Seventh Edition.*
 THE IMITATION OF CHRIST: called also the Ecclesiastical Music. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Fifth Edition.*
 THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. Edited by Walter Lock, D.D. *Fourth Edition.*
 LVRA INNOCENTIUM. Edited by Walter Lock, D.D. *Second Edition.*
 THE TEMPLE. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. *Second Edition.*
 A BOOK OF DEVOTIONS. Edited by J. W. Stanbridge, B.D. *Second Edition.*
 A SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE. Edited by C. Bigg, D.D. *Fourth Ed.*
 A GUIDE TO ETERNITY. Edited by J. W. Stanbridge, B.D.
 THE INNER WAY. By J. Tauler. Edited by A. W. Hutton, M.A. *Second Edition.*

- ON THE LOVE OF GOD. By St. Francis de Sales. Edited by W. J. Knox-Little, M.A.
 THE PSALMS OF DAVID. Edited by B. W. Randolph, D.D.
 LVRA APOSTOLICA. By Cardinal Newman and others. Edited by Canon Scott Holland, M.A., and Canon H. C. Beeching, M.A.
 THE SONG OF SONGS. Edited by B. Blaxland, M.A.
 THE THOUGHTS OF PASCAL. Edited by C. S. Jertam, M.A. *Second Edition.*
 A MANUAL OF CONSOLATION FROM THE SAINTS AND FATHERS. Edited by J. H. Burn, B.D.
 DEVOTIONS FROM THE APOCRYPHA. Edited, with an Introduction, by Herbert Pentin, M.A.

THE LIBRARY OF DEVOTION—continued.

THE SPIRITUAL COMBAT. By Dom Lorenzo Scupoli. Newly translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Thomas Barns, M.A. **THE DEVOTIONS OF ST. ANSELM.** Edited by C. C. J. Webb, M.A.

GRACE ABOUNDING TO THE CHIEF OF SINNERS. By John Bunyan. Edited by S. C. Freer, M.A.

BISHOP WILSON'S SACRA PRIVATA. Edited by A. E. Burn, B.D.

LVRA SACRA: A Book of Sacred Verse. Edited by Canon H. C. Beeching, M.A. *Second Edition, revised.*

A DAY BOOK FROM THE SAINTS AND FATHERS. Edited by J. H. Burn, B.D.

A LITTLE BOOK OF HEAVENLY WISDOM. A Selection from the English Mystics. Edited by E. C. Gregory.

LIGHT, LIFE, and LOVE. A Selection from the German Mystics. Edited by W.R. Inge, M.A.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE. By St. Francis de Sales. Translated and Edited by T. Barns, M.A.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF THE GLORIOUS MESSER ST. FRANCIS AND OF HIS FRIARS. Done into English by W. Heywood. With an Introduction by A. G. Fetter Howell.

MANCHESTER AL MONDO: a Contemplation of Death and Immortality. By Henry Montagu Earl of Manchester. With an Introduction by Elizabeth Waterhouse, Editor of 'A Little Book of Life and Death.'

THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE, which Disentangles the Soul and brings it by the Inward Way to the Fruition of Perfect Contemplation, and the Rich Treasure of Internal Peace. Written by Dr. Michael de Molinos, Priest. Translated from the Italian copy, printed at Venice, 1685. Edited with an Introduction by Kathleen Lyttelton. And a Note by Canon Scott Holland.

DEVOTIONS FOR EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK AND THE GREAT FESTIVALS. By John Wesley. Edited, with an Introduction by Canon C. Bodington.

PRECES PRIVATAE. By Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. Selections from the Translation by Canon F. E. Brightman. Edited, with an Introduction, by A. E. Burn, D.D.

HORAE MYSTICAE: A Day Book from the Writings of Mystics of Many Nations. Edited by E. C. Gregory.

Little Books on Art

With many Illustrations. Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d. net.

Each volume consists of about 200 pages, and contains from 30 to 40 Illustrations, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure.

ALBRECHT DÜRER. J. Allen.
ARTS OF JAPAN, THE. E. Dillon.
BOOKPLATES. E. Almack.
BOTTICELLI. Mary L. Bonnor.
BURNE-JONES. F. de Lisle.
CHRIST IN ART. Mrs. H. Jenner.
CLAUDE. E. Dillon.
CONSTABLE. H. W. Tompkins.
COROT. A. Pollard and E. Birnstagl.
ENAMELS. Mrs. N. Dawson.
FREDERIC LEIGHTON. A. Corkran.
GEORGE ROMNEY. G. Faston.
GREEK ART. H. B. Walters.
GREUZE AND BOUCHER. E. F. Pollard.
HOLBEIN. Mrs. G. Fortescue.

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS. J. W. Bradley.
JEWELLERY. C. Davenport.
JOHN HOPPNER. H. P. K. Skipton.
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. J. Sime.
MILLETT. N. Peacock.
MINIATURES. C. Davenport.
OUR LADY IN ART. Mrs. H. Jenner.
RAPHAEL. A. R. Dryhurst. *Second Edition.*
REMBRANDT. Mrs. E. A. Sharp.
TURNER. F. Tyrell-Gill.
VANDYCK. M. G. Smallwood.
VELASQUEZ. W. Wilberforce and A. R. Gilbert.
WATTS. R. E. D. Sketchley.

The Little Galleries

Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d. net.

Each volume contains 20 plates in Photogravure, together with a short outline of the life and work of the master to whom the book is devoted.

A LITTLE GALLERY OF REYNOLDS.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF ROMNEY.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF HOPPNER.

A LITTLE GALLERY OF MILLAIS.
A LITTLE GALLERY OF ENGLISH POETS.

The Little Guides

With many Illustrations by E. H. New and other artists, and from photographs.

Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. net.; leather, 3s. 6d. net.

The main features of these Guides are (1) a handy and charming form; (2) illustrations from photographs and by well-known artists; (3) good plans and maps; (4) an adequate but compact presentation of everything that is interesting in the natural features, history, archaeology, and architecture of the town or district treated.

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS COLLEGES.	A. H. Thompson. <i>Second Edition.</i>	HERTFORDSHIRE.	H. W. Tompkins.
ENGLISH LAKES, THE.	F. G. Brabant.	KENT.	G. Clinch.
ISLE OF WIGHT.	THE.	KERRY.	C. P. Crane.
MALVERN COUNTRY.	THE.	MIDDLESEX.	J. B. Firth.
NORTH WALES.	A. T. Story.	MONMOUTHSHIRE.	G. W. Wade and J. H. Wade.
OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES.	J. Wells. <i>Eighth Edition.</i>	NORFOLK.	W. A. Dutt.
SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY.	B. C. A. Windle. <i>Third Edition.</i>	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.	W. Dry.
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.	G. Clinch.	OXFORDSHIRE.	F. G. Brabant.
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.	G. E. Troutbeck. <i>Second Edition.</i>	SOMERSET.	G. W. and J. H. Wade.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.	E. S. Roscoe.	SUFFOLK.	W. A. Dutt.
CHESTER.	W. M. Gallichan.	SURREY.	F. A. H. Lambert.
CORNWALL.	A. L. Salmon.	SUSSEX.	F. G. Brabant. <i>Second Edition.</i>
DERBYSHIRE.	J. C. Cox.	YORKSHIRE, THE EAST RIDING.	J. E. Morris.
DEVON.	S. Baring-Gould.	YORKSHIRE, THE NORTH RIDING.	J. E. Morris.
DORSET.	F. R. Heath. <i>Second Edition.</i>		
ESSEX.	J. C. Cox.	BRITTANY.	S. Baring-Gould.
HAMPSHIRE.	J. C. Cox.	NORMANDY.	C. Scudamore.
		ROME.	C. G. Elphick.
		SICILY.	F. H. Jackson.

The Little Library

With Introductions, Notes, and Photogravure Frontispieces.

Small Pott 8vo. Each Volume, cloth, 1s. 6d. net.; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

Anon.	A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH LYRICS. <i>Second Edition.</i>	Canning (George).	SELECTIONS FROM THE ANTI-JACOBIN: with GEORGE CANNING'S additional Poems. Edited by LLOYD SANDERS.
Austen (Jane).	PRIDE AND PREJUDICE. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. <i>Two Vols.</i>	Cowley (Abraham).	THE ESSAYS OF ABRAHAM COWLEY. Edited by H. C. MINCHIN.
NORTHANGER ABBEY.	Edited by E. V. LUCAS.	Crabbe (George).	SELECTIONS FROM GEORGE CRABBE. Edited by A. C. DEANE.
Bacon (Francis).	THE ESSAYS OF LORD BACON.	Craik (Mrs.).	JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN. Edited by ANNIE MATHESON. <i>Two Volumes.</i>
Barham (R. H.).	THE INGOLDSBY LEGENDS. Edited by J. B. ATLAY. <i>Two Volumes.</i>	Crashaw (Richard).	THE ENGLISH POEMS OF RICHARD CRASHAW. Edited by EDWARD HUTTON.
Barnett (Mrs. P. A.).	A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE. <i>Second Edition.</i>	Dante (Alighieri).	THE INFERO OF DANTE. Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
Beckford (William).	THE HISTORY OF THE CALIPH VATHEK. Edited by E. DENISON ROSS.	THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE.	Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
Blake (William).	SELECTIONS FROM WILLIAM BLAKE. Edited by M. PERUGINI.	THE PARADISO OF DANTE.	Translated by H. F. CARY. Edited by PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Litt.
Borrow (George).	LAVENGRO. Edited by F. HINDES GROOME. <i>Two Volumes.</i>	Darley (George).	SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF GEORGE DARLEY. Edited by R. A. STREATFIELD.
THE ROMANY RYE.	Edited by JOHN SAMSON.		
Browning (Robert).	SELECTIONS FROM THE EARLY POEMS OF ROBERT BROWNING. Edited by W. HALL GRIFFIN, M.A.		

- THE LITTLE LIBRARY—continued.**
- Deane (A. C.). A LITTLE BOOK OF LIGHT VERSE.
- Dickens (Charles). CHRISTMAS BOOKS. Two Volumes.
- Ferrier (Susan). MARRIAGE. Edited by A. GOODRICH · FREER and LORD IDDESLIGH. Two Volumes.
- THE INHERITANCE. Two Volumes.
- Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. Second Edition.
- Hawthorne (Nathaniel). THE SCARLET LETTER. Edited by PERCY DEARMER.
- Henderson (T. F.). A LITTLE BOOK OF SCOTTISH VERSE.
- Keats (John). POEMS. With an Introduction by L. BINION, and Notes by J. MASEFIELD.
- Kinglake (A. W.). EOTHEN. With an Introduction and Notes. Second Edition.
- Lamb (Charles). ELIA, AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA. Edited by E. V. LUCAS.
- Locke (F.). LONDON LYRICS. Edited by A. D. GODLEY, M.A. A reprint of the First Edition.
- Longfellow (H. W.). SELECTIONS FROM LONGFELLOW. Edited by L. M. FAITHFULL.
- Marvell (Andrew). THE POEMS OF ANDREW MARVELL. Edited by E. WRIGHT.
- Milton (John). THE MINOR POEMS OF JOHN MILTON. Edited by H. C. BEECHING, M.A.
- Moir (D. M.). MANSIE WAUCH. Edited by T. F. HENDERSON.
- Nichols (J. B. B.). A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH SONNETS.
- Rochefoucauld (La). THE MAXIMS OF LA ROCHEFOUCAULD. Translated by Dean STANHOPE. Edited by G. H. POWELL.
- Smith (Horace and James). REJECTED ADDRESSES. Edited by A. D. GODLEY, M.A.
- Sterne (Laurence). A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY. Edited by H. W. PAUL.
- Tennyson (Alfred, Lord). THE EARLY POEMS OF ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. Edited by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. IN MEMORIAM. Edited by H. C. BEECHING, M.A.
- THE PRINCESS. Edited by ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH.
- MAUD. Edited by ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH.
- Thackeray (W. M.). VANITY FAIR. Edited by S. GWYNN. Three Volumes.
- PENDENNIS. Edited by S. GWYNN. Three Volumes.
- ESMOND. Edited by S. GWYNN.
- CHRISTMAS BOOKS. Edited by S. GWYNN.
- Vaughan (Henry). THE POEMS OF HENRY VAUGHAN. Edited by EDWARD HUTTON.
- Walton (Izaak). THE COMPLEAT ANGLER. Edited by J. BUCHAN.
- Waterhouse (Elizabeth). A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. Edited by Twelfth Edition.
- Wordsworth (W.). SELECTIONS FROM WORDSWORTH. Edited by NOWELL C. SMITH.
- Wordsworth (W.) and Coleridge (S. T.). LYRICAL BALLADS. Edited by GEORGE SAMPSON.

The Little Quarto Shakespeare

Edited by W. J. CRAIG. With Introductions and Notes.

Pott 16mo. In 40 Volumes. Leather, price 1s. net each volume.

Mahogany Revolving Book Case. 10s. net.

Miniature Library

Reprints in miniature of a few interesting books which have qualities of humanity, devotion, or literary genius.

EUPHRANOR: A Dialogue on Youth. By Edward FitzGerald. From the edition published by W. Pickering in 1851. Demy 32mo. Leather, 2s. net.

THE LIFE OF EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY. Written by himself. From the edition printed at Strawberry Hill in the year 1764. Demy 32mo. Leather, 2s. net.

POLONIUS: or Wise Saws and Modern Instances. By Edward FitzGerald. From the edition published by W. Pickering in 1852. Demy 32mo. Leather, 2s. net.

THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. By Edward FitzGerald. From the 1st edition of 1859, Fourth Edition. Leather, 2s. net.

A New Historical Series

Edited by the Rev. H. N. ASMAN, M.A., B.D.

*STORIES FROM ANCIENT HISTORY. By E. Bower, B.A. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d. | STORIES FROM MODERN HISTORY. By E. M. Wilmot-Buxton, F.R.Hist.S. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The New Library of Medicine

Edited by C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S.Edin. Demy 8vo.

CARE OF THE BODY, THE. F. Cavanagh. <i>Second Edition.</i> 7s. 6d. net.	DRUGS AND THE DRUG HABIT. H. Sainsbury.
CHILDREN OF THE NATION, THE. RightHon. Sir John Gorst. <i>Second Ed.</i> 7s. 6d. net.	FUNCTIONAL NERVE DISEASES. A. T. Schofield. 7s. 6d. net.
CONTROL OF A SCOURGE, THE; or, How Cancer is Curable. Chas. P. Childe. 7s. 6d. net.	HYGIENE OF MIND, THE. T. S. Clouston. <i>Fifth Edition.</i> 7s. 6d. net.
DISEASES OF OCCUPATION. Sir Thomas Oliver. <i>Second Edition.</i> 10s. 6d. net.	INFANT MORTALITY. George Newman. 7s. 6d. net.
DRINK PROBLEM, THE, in its Medico-Sociological Aspects. Edited by T. N. Kelynack. 7s. 6d. net.	PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS (CONSUMPTION), THE. Arthur Newsholme. 10s. 6d. net.
AIR AND HEALTH. Ronald C. Macfie, M.A., M.B. 7s. 6d. net. <i>Second Edition.</i>	AIR AND HEALTH. Ronald C. Macfie, M.A., M.B. 7s. 6d. net. <i>Second Edition.</i>

The New Library of Music

Edited by ERNEST NEWMAN. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

HUGO WOLF. By Ernest Newman. With 13 Illustrations. | HANDEL. By R. A. Streatfeild. With 12 Illustrations. *Second Edition.*

Oxford Biographies

Fac. 8vo. Each volume, cloth, 2s. 6d. net; leather, 3s. 6d. net.

DANTE ALIGHIERI. By Paget Toynbee, M.A., D.Litt. With 12 Illustrations. <i>Third Edition.</i>	ROBERT BURNS. By T. F. Henderson. With 12 Illustrations.
GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By E. L. S. Horsburgh, M.A. With 12 Illustrations. <i>Fourth Edition.</i>	CHATHAM. By A. S. M'Dowall. With 12 Illustrations.
JOHN HOWARD. By E. C. S. Gibson, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester. With 12 Illustrations.	FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By Anna M. Stoddart. With 16 Illustrations.
ALFRED TENNYSON. By A. C. BENSON, M.A. With 9 Illustrations. <i>Second Edition.</i>	CANNING. By W. Alison Phillips. With 12 Illustrations.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH. By I. A. Taylor. With 12 Illustrations.	BEACONSFIELD. By Walter Sickel. With 12 Illustrations.
ERASMUS. By E. F. H. Capey. With 12 Illustrations.	JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE. By H. G. Atkins. With 16 Illustrations.
THE YOUNG PRETENDER. By C. S. Terry. With 12 Illustrations.	FRANÇOIS FENELON. By Viscount St Cyres. With 12 Illustrations.

Romantic History

Edited by MARTIN HUME, M.A. *With Illustrations. Demy 8vo.*

A series of attractive volumes in which the periods and personalities selected are such as afford romantic human interest, in addition to their historical importance.

THE FIRST GOVERNESS OF THE NETHERLANDS, MARGARET OF AUSTRIA. By Eleanor E. Tremayne. 10s. 6d. net.	Martin Hume, M.A. 15s. net.
TWO ENGLISH QUEENS AND PHILIP. By	THE NINE DAYS' QUEEN. By Richard Davey. With a Preface by Martin Hume, M.A. With 12 Illustrations. 10s. 6d. net.

School Examination Series

Edited by A. M. M. STEDMAN, M.A. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

EXAMINATION PAPERS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.
By J. Tait Plowden-Wardlaw, B.A.FRENCH EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M.
M. Stedman, M.A. Fifteenth Edition.
KEY. Sixth Edition. 6s. net.GENERAL KNOWLEDGE EXAMINATION
PAPERS. By A. M. M. Stedman, M.A.
Seventh Edition.

KEY. Fourth Edition. 7s. net.

GERMAN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By R. J.
Morich. Seventh Edition.
KEY. Third Edition. 6s. net.GREEK EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M.
Stedman, M.A. Ninth Edition.
KEY. Fourth Edition. 6s. net.HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY EXAMINATION
PAPERS. By C. H. Spence, M.A. Third
Edition.LATIN EXAMINATION PAPERS. By A. M. M.
Stedman, M.A. Fourteenth Edition.
KEY. Seventh Edition. 6s. net.PHYSICS EXAMINATION PAPERS. By R. E.
Steel, M.A., F.C.S.

School Histories

Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF WARWICKSHIRE. By
B. C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S.A SCHOOL HISTORY OF SOMERSET. By
Walter Raymond. Second Edition.A SCHOOL HISTORY OF LANCASHIRE. By
W. E. Rhodes, M.A.A SCHOOL HISTORY OF SURREY. By H. E.
Malden, M.A.A SCHOOL HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX. By V. G.
Plarr, M.A., and F. W. Walton, M.A.

Simplified French Texts

Edited by T. R. N. CROFTS, M.A.

Fcap 8vo. 1s.

ABDALLAH. By Edouard Laboulaye. Adapted
by J. A. Wilson.DEUX CONTES. By P. Mérimée. Adapted
by J. F. Rhoades.EDMOND DANTÈS. By A. Dumas. Adapted
by M. Ceppi.JEAN VALJEAN. By Victor Hugo. Adapted
by F. W. M. Draper, M.A.LA BATAILLE DE WATERLOO. By Erckmann-
Chatrian. Adapted by G. H. Evans.LA BOUILLIE AU MIEL. By A. Dumas.
Adapted by P. B. Ingham, M.A.LA CHANSON DE ROLAND. Adapted by H.
Rieu, M.A. Second Edition.LE CONSCRIT DE 1813. By Erckmann-Chatrian.
Adapted by H. Rieu.LE DOCTEUR MATHÉUS. By Erckmann-
Chatrian. Adapted by W. P. Fuller, M.A.M. DE BEAUFORT À VINCENNES. By A.
Dumas. Adapted by P. B. Ingham, M.A.L'ÉQUIPAGE DE LA BELLE-NIVERNNAISE. By
Alphonse Daudet. Adapted by T. R. N.
Crofts, M.A.L'HISTOIRE D'UNE TULIPE. By A. Dumas.
Adapted by T. R. N. Crofts, M.A. Second
Edition.L'HISTOIRE DE PIERRE ET CAMILLE. By A. de
Musset. Adapted by J. B. Patterson, M.A.MÉMOIRES DE CADICHON. By Madam de
Ségur. Adapted by J. F. Rhoades.D'AJACCIO À SAINT HELENE. By A. Dumas.
Adapted by F. W. M. DRAPER, M.A.RENY LE CHEVRIER. By E. Souvestre.
Adapted by E. E. Chottin, B.es-L.

Simplified German Texts

Edited by T. R. G. CROFTS, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.

DER MULLER AM RHEIN. By C. Brentano.
Adapted by Florence A. Ryan.DIE GESCHICHTE VON PETER SCHLEMIHL.
By A. v. Chamisso. Adapted by R. C. Perry.DIE NOTHELFER. By W. H. Richl. Adapted
by P. B. Ingham, M.A.UNDINE UND HULDERBRAND. By La Motte
Fouqué. Adapted by T. R. N. Crofts, M.A.

Six Ages of European HistoryEdited by A. H. JOHNSON, M.A. With Maps. *Crown 8vo.* 2s. 6d.

AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOT, THE, 1660-1789. A. H. Johnson.

CENTRAL PERIOD OF THE MIDDLE AGE, THE, 918-1273. Beatrice A. Lees.

DAWN OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE, THE, 476-918. J. H. B. Masterman.

END OF THE MIDDLE AGE, THE, 1273-1453. E. C. Lodge.

EUROPE IN RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION, 1453-1650. M. A. Hollings.

REMAKING OF MODERN EUROPE, THE, 1789-1878. J. A. R. Marriott. *Second Edition.***Methuen's Standard Library***Cloth, 1s. net; double volumes, 1s. 6d. net.*

THE MEDITATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS. Translated by R. Graves.

SENSE AND SENSIBILITY. Jane Austen.

ESSAYS AND COUNSELLS and THE NEW ATLANTIS. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam.

RELIGIO MEDICI and URN BURIAL. Sir Thomas Browne. The text collated by A. R. Waller.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. John Bunyan. REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edmund Burke.

THE POEMS AND SONGS OF ROBERT BURNS. Double Volume.

THE ANALOGY OF RELIGION, NATURAL AND REVEALED. Joseph Butler.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS. T. CHATTERTON. THE ROWLEY POEMS. T. Chatterton.

TOM JONES. Henry Fielding. Treble Vol. CRANFORD. Mrs. Gaskell.

THE POEMS AND PLAYS OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH. THE CASE IS ALTERED. EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR. Ben Jonson.

CYNTHIA'S Revels. Poetaster. Ben Jonson.

Paper, 6d. net; double volume, 1s. net. THE POEMS OF JOHN KEATS. Double volume. The Text has been collated by E. de Selincourt.

ON THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By Thomas à Kempis. Translation by C. Bigg. A SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE. W. Law.

PARADISE LOST. John Milton.

EIKONOKLASTES AND THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES. John Milton.

UTOPIA AND POEMS. Sir Thomas More.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO. Translated by Sydenham and Taylor. Double Volume. Translation revised by W. H. D. Rouse.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS. Translated by W. Heywood.

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. In 10 volumes.

THE POEMS OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. In 4 volumes. With Introductions by C. D. Locock.

THE LIFE OF NELSON. Robert Southey.

THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SELBORNE. Gilbert White.

Textbooks of Science

Edited by G. F. GOODCHILD, M.A., B.Sc., and G. R. MILLS, M.A.

Fully Illustrated.

COMPLETE SCHOOL CHEMISTRY, THE. By F. M. Oldham, B.A. With 126 Illustrations. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE FOR PUPIL TEACHERS. PHYSICS SECTION. By W. T. Clough, A.R.C.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. CHEMISTRY SECTION. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With 2 Plates and 10 Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 2s.

EXAMPLES IN ELEMENTARY MECHANICS, Practical, Graphical, and Theoretical. By W. J. Dobbs, M.A. With 52 Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 5s.

EXAMPLES IN PHYSICS. By C. E. Jackson, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

FIRST YEAR PHYSICS. By C. E. Jackson, M.A. With 51 Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

OUTLINES OF PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY. By George Senter, B.Sc. (Lond.), Ph.D. With many Diagrams. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY, AN, FOR SCHOOLS AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTES. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Lond.), F.C.S. With many Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

PLANT LIFE, Studies in Garden and School. By Horace F. Jones, F.C.S. With 320 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. Part I. W. French, M.A. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. Part II. W. French, M.A., and T. H. Boardman, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

*PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY FOR SCHOOLS AND TECHNICAL INSTITUTES, A. By A. E. Dunstan, B.Sc. (Sheffield and Lond.), F.C.S. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

PRACTICAL MECHANICS. S. H. Wells. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

TECHNICAL ARITHMETIC AND GEOMETRY. By C. T. Millis, M.I.M.E. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Textbooks of Technology

Fully Illustrated.

- | | |
|--|--|
| BUILDERS' QUANTITIES. By H. C. Grubb. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. | HOW TO MAKE A DRESS. By J. A. E. Wood. <i>Fourth Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d. |
| CARPENTRY AND JOINERY. By F. C. Webber. <i>Fifth Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. | INSTRUCTION IN COOKERY. A. P. THOMSON. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. |
| ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER: An Introduction to the Study of Electrical Engineering. By E. E. Brooks, B.Sc. (Lond.), and W. H. N. James, A.M.I.E.E., A.R.C.Sc. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. | INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF TEXTILE DESIGN, AN. By Aldred F. Barker. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 7s. 6d. |
| ENGINEERING WORKSHOP PRACTICE. By C. C. Allen. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. | MILLINERY, THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL. By Clare Hill. <i>Fifth Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 2s. RÉPOUSÉ METAL WORK. By A. C. Horth. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. |

Handbooks of Theology

- | | |
|---|---|
| THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. By R. L. Ottley, D.D. <i>Fourth Edition revised.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 12s. 6d. | AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CREEDS. By A. E. Burn, D.D. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. |
| A HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. By J. F. Bethune-Baker, M.A. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. | THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Alfred Caldecott, D.D. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. |
| AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. By F. B. Jevons, M.A., Litt.D. <i>Fourth Edition.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. | THE XXXIX. ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. <i>Sixth Edition.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 12s. 6d. |

The Westminster Commentaries

General Editor, WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College,

Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford.

- | | |
|--|---|
| THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Edited by R. B. Rackham, M.A. <i>Demy 8vo. Fourth Edition.</i> 10s. 6d. | THE BOOK OF GENESIS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by S. R. Driver, D.D. <i>Seventh Edition.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. |
| THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. Edited by H. L. Gouge, M.A. <i>Second Ed.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 6s. | Also, to be obtained separately, Additions and Corrections in the Seventh Edition of the Book of Genesis. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 1s. |
| A COMMENTARY ON EXODUS. By A. H. M'Neile, B.D. With a Map and 3 Plans. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. | THE BOOK OF JOB. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson, D.D. <i>Second Edition.</i> <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 6s. |
| THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL. Edited H. A. Redpath, M.A., D.Litt. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 10s. 6d. | THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. J. Knowling, D.D. <i>Demy 8vo.</i> 6s. |

PART II.—FICTION

- | | |
|--|---|
| Albanesi (E. Maria). SUSANNAH AND ONE OTHER. <i>Fourth Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. | THE INVINCIBLE AMELIA: THE POLITE ADVENTURESS. <i>Third Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. |
| THE BLUNDER OF AN INNOCENT. <i>Second Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. | Annesley (Maude). THIS DAY'S MADNESS. <i>Second Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. |
| CAPRICIOUS CAROLINE. <i>Second Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. | Anstey (P.). A BAYARD FROM BENGAL. <i>Medium 8vo.</i> 6d. |
| LOVE AND LOUISA. <i>Second Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d. | Austen (Jane). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE. <i>Medium 8vo.</i> 6d. |
| PETER, A PARASITE. Cr. 8vo. 6s. | Aveling (Francis). ARNOUL THE ENGLISHMAN. Cr. 8vo. 6s. |
| THE BROWN EYES OF MARY. <i>Third Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. | Bagot (Richard). A ROMAN MYSTERY. <i>Third Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d. |
| I KNOW A MAIDEN. <i>Third Edition.</i> Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d. | |

- Plinlaster (Mary).** A NARROW WAY. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
OVER THE HILLS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE ROSE OF JOY. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
A BLIND BIRD'S NEST. With 8 Illustrations. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Fitzpatrick (K.). THE WEANS AT ROWALLAN. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Francis (M. E.). (Mrs. Francis Blundell). STEPPING WESTWARD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
MARGERY O' THE MILL. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
HARDY-ON-THE-HILL. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
GALATEA OF THE WHEATFIELD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Fraser (Mrs. Hugh). THE SLAKING OF THE SWORD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
IN THE SHADOW OF THE LORD. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
GIANNELLA. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Fry (B. and C. B.). A MOTHER'S SON. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Fuller-Maitland (Ellas). BLANCHE KSMKAD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Gallon (Tom). RICKERBY'S FOLLY. Medium 8vo. 6d.
Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD. Medium 8vo. 6d.
MARY BARTON. Medium 8vo. 6d.
NORTH AND SOUTH. Medium 8vo. 6d.
Uxton (Elleanor). THE PLOW-WOMAN. 12mo 8vo. 6d.
Verard (Dorothea). HOLY MATER-NITY. Medium 8vo. 6d.
MADE OF MONEY. Medium 8vo. 6d.
THE IMPROKABLE IDYL. Third Edition. 12mo 8vo. 6d.
THE BRIDGE OF LIFE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE CONQUEST OF LONDON. Medium 8vo. 6d.
WILL POWELL. THE SPIRIT OF RE-
LIFE. Small 8vo. 6d.
WILL POWELL. THE TOWN TRA-
DE. Small 8vo. 6d.
THE BRIDGE OF LIFE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
WILL POWELL. THE INCA'S TRE-
ASURE. Small 8vo. 6d.
WILL POWELL. THE DOLLY DIALOGUES. Medium 8vo. 6d.
WILL POWELL. PETER'S ARCADE. Small 8vo. 6d.
WILL POWELL. THE SPY'S FAMILY. Small 8vo. 6d.
Haig (J. C.). IN THE GRIP OF THE TRUSTS: A STORY OF 1914. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
Hamilton (M.). THE FIRST CLAIM. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Harraden (Beatrice). IN VARYING MOODS. Fourteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE SCHOLAR'S DAUGHTER. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
**HILDA STRAFFORD AND THE REMI-
TANCE MAN.** Twelfth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
INTERPLAY. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Harrod (F.) (Frances Forbes Robertson). THE TAMING OF THE BRUTE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Hart (Mabel). SISTER K. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Hitchens (Robert). THE PROPHET OF BERKELEY SQUARE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
TONGUES OF CONSCIENCE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
FELIX. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE WOMAN WITH THE FAN. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
BVEWAYS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE GARDEN OF ALLAH. Eighteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE BLACK SPANIEL. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE CALL OF THE BLOOD. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
BARBARY SHEEP. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
Hope (Anthony). THE GOD IN THE CAR. Eleventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
A CHANGE OF AIR. Sixth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
A MAN OF MARK. Sixth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
**THE CHRONICLES OF COUNT AN-
TONIO.** Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
PHROSO. Illustrated by H. R. MILLAR. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
SIMON DALK. Illustrated. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE KING'S MIRROR. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
QUSANTE. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE DOLLY DIALOGUES. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
A SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC. Illus-
trated. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
TALES OF TWO PEOPLE. With a Frontispiece by A. H. BUCKLAND. Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
THE GREAT MISS DRIVER. With a Frontispiece by A. H. BUCKLAND. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- Hornung (E. W.). DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Housman (Clemence). THE LIFE OF SIR AGLOVALE DE GALIS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hueffer (Ford Madox). AN ENGLISH GIRL: A ROMANCE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MR. APOLLO: A JUST POSSIBLE STORY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hutten (Baroness von). THE HALO. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hyne (C. J. Cutcliffe). MR. HOR-ROCKS, PURSER. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- PRINCE RUPERT, THE BUCCANEER. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Ingraham (J. H.). THE THRONE OF DAVID. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Jacobs (W. W.). MANY CARGOES. Thirty-first Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- SEA URCHINS. Fifteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- A MASTER OF CRAFT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- LIGHT FREIGHTS. Illustrated by WILL OWEN and Others. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE SKIPPER'S WOOING. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- AT SUNWICH PORT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- DIALSTONE LANE. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- ODD CRAFT. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE LADY OF THE BARGE. Illustrated. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- SALTHAVEN. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- SAILORS' KNOTS. Illustrated by WILL OWEN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- James (Henry). THE SOFT SIDE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE BETTER SORT. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GOLDEN BOWL. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Keays (H. A. Mitchell). HE THAT EATETH BREAD WITH ME. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Kester (Vaughan). THE FORTUNES OF THE LANDRAYS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lawless (Hon. Emily). WITH ESSEX IN IRELAND. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Le Queux (William). THE HUNCHBACK OF WESTMINSTER. Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE CLOSED BOOK. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- BEHIND THE THRONE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CROOKED WAY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Levett-Yeats (S. K.). ORRAIN. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE TRAITOR'S WAY. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Linton (E. Lynn). THE TRUE HISTORY OF JOSHUA DAVIDSON. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- London (Jack). WHITE FANG. With a Frontispiece by CHARLES RIVINGSTON BULL. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lubbock (Basil). DEEP SEA WARRIORS. With 4 Illustrations. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lucas (St. John). THE FIRST ROUND. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lyall (Edna). DERRICK VAUGHAN, NOVELIST. 44th Thousand. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Maartens (Maarten). THE NEW RELIGION: A MODERN NOVEL. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PRICE OF LIS DORIS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- BROTHERS ALL; MORE STORIES OF DUTCH PEASANT LIFE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- M'Carty (Justin H.). THE LADY OF LOYALTY HOUSE. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE DRYAD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE DUKE'S MOTTO. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Macdonald (Ronald). A HUMAN TRINITY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Macnaughtan (S.). THE FORTUNE OF CHRISTINA M'NAB. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Malet (Lucas). COLONEL ENDERBY'S WIFE. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE WAGES OF SIN. Sixteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CARISSIMA. Fifth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE GATELESS BARRIER. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HISTORY OF SIR RICHARD CALMADY. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Mann (Mrs. M. E.). OLIVIA'S SUMMER. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A LOST ESTATE. A New Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE PARISH OF HILBY. A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PARISH NURSE. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- GRAN'MA'S JANE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- MRS. PETER HOWARD. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
A WINTER'S TALE. *A New Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
ONE ANOTHER'S BURDENS. *A New Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- ROSE AT HONEYPOD.** *Third Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THERE WAS ONCE A PRINCE.** Illustrated by M. B. MANN. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
WHEN ARNOLD COMES HOME. Illustrated by M. B. MANN. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE EGLAMORE PORTRAITS.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE MEMORIES OF RONALD LOVE.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SHEEP AND THE GOATS.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A SHEAF OF CORN.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HEART-SMITER.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- AVENGING CHILDREN.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PATTEN EXPERIMENT.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE CEDAR STAR.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Marchmont (A. W.). MISER HOADLEY'S SECRET.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- A MOMENT'S ERROR.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Marriott (Charles). GENEVRA.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Marryat (Captain). PETER SIMPLE** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- JACOB FAITHFUL.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Marsh (Richard). THE TWICKENHAM PEERAGE.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE MARQUIS OF PUTNEY.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- IN THE SERVICE OF LOVE.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GIRL AND THE MIRACLE.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE COWARD BEHIND THE CURTAIN.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SURPRISING HUSBAND.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A ROYAL INDISCRETION.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A METAMORPHOSIS.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE GODDESS.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE JOSS.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Marshall (Archibald). MANY JUNES.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE SQUIRE'S DAUGHTER.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Mason (A. E. W.). CLEMENTINA.** Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Mathers (Helen). HONEY.** *Fourth Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- GRIFF OF GRIFFITHSCOURT.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE FERRYMAN.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- TALLY-HO!** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SAM'S SWEETHEART.** Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Maud (Constance). A DAUGHTER OF FRANCE.** With a Frontispiece. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Maxwell (W. B.). VIVIEN.** *Ninth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE RAGGED MESSENGER.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- FABULOUS FANCIES.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GUARDED FLAME.** *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ODD LENGTHS.** *Second Ed.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- HILL RISE.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE COUNTESS OF MAYBURY: BETWEEN YOU AND I.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Meade (L. T.). DRIFT.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- RESURGAM.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- VICTORY.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A GIRL OF THE PEOPLE.** Illustrated. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- HEPSY GIPSY.** Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- THE HONOURABLE MISS: A STORY OF AN OLD-FASHIONED TOWN.** Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Melton (R.). CESAR'S WIFE.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Meredith (Ellis). HEART OF MY HEART.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Miller (Esther). LIVING LIES.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Mitford (Bertram). THE SIGN OF THE SPIDER.** Illustrated. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- IN THE WHIRL OF THE RISING.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE RED DERELICT.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Molesworth (Mrs.). THE RED GRANGE.** Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Montgomery (K. L.). COLONEL KATE.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Montresor (F. F.). THE ALIEN.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
 Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Morrison (Arthur). TALES OF MEAN STREETS.** *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A CHILD OF THE JAGO.** *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HOLE IN THE WALL.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.

- TO LONDON TOWN. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- DIVERS VANITIES. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Nesbit (E.). (Mrs. H. Bland). THE RED HOUSE. Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Noble (Edward). LORDS OF THE SEA. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Norris (W. E.). HARRY AND URSULA: A STORY WITH TWO SIDES TO IT. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- HIS GRACE. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- GILES INGILBY. Medium 8vo. 6s.
- THE CREDIT OF THE COUNTY. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- LORD LEONARD THE LUCKLESS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- MATTHEW AUSTIN. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- CLARISSA FURIOSA. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Oliphant (Mrs.). THE LADY'S WALK. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- SIR ROBERT'S FORTUNE. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE PRODIGALS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE TWO MARYS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Ollivant (Alfred). OWD BOB, THE GREY DOG OF KENMUIR. With a Frontispiece. Eleventh Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Oppenheim (E. Phillips). MASTER OF MEN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Oxenham (John). A WEAVER OF WEBS. With 8 Illustrations by MAURICE GREIFENHAGEN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GATE OF THE DESERT. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- PROFIT AND LOSS. With a Frontispiece in photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE LONG ROAD. With a Frontispiece in Photogravure by HAROLD COPPING. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SONG OF HYACINTH, AND OTHER STORIES. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MY LADY OF SHADOWS. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Pain (Barry). LINDLEY KAYS. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Parker (Gilbert). PIERRE AND HIS PEOPLE. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MRS. FALCHION. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE TRANSLATION OF A SAVAGE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD. Illustrated. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- WHEN VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC: The Story of a Lost Napoleon. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- AN ADVENTURER OF THE NORTH. The Last Adventures of 'Pretty Pierre.' Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY. Illustrated. Sixteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE BATTLE OF THE STRONG: a Romance of Two Kingdoms. Illustrated. Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE POMP OF THE LAVILETTES. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- NORTHERN LIGHTS. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Pasture (Mrs. Henry de la). THE TYRANT. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Patterson (J. E.). WATCHERS BY THE SHORE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Pemberton (Max). THE FOOTSTEPS OF A THRONE. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- I CROWN THEE KING. With Illustrations by Frank Dadd and A. Forrestier. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- LOVE THE HARVESTER: A STORY OF THE SHIRES. Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Philipotts (Eden). LYING PROPHETS. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- CHILDREN OF THE MIST. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE HUMAN BOY. With a Frontispiece Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- SONS OF THE MORNING. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE RIVER. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE AMERICAN PRISONER. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SECRET WOMAN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- KNOCK AT A VENTURE. With a Frontispiece. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PORTREEVE. Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE POACHER'S WIFE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE STRIKING HOURS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- THE FOLK AFIELD. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Pickthall (Marmaduke). SAÏD THE FISHERMAN. Seventh Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- BRENDALE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HOUSE OF ISLAM. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

1914. A. T. Quiller-Couch. THE WHITE WORLD. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE MYSTIC OF TROY. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MYSTERY AND DREAM, AND OTHER STORIES. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MAGICK AND MAGIC. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Marcel Proust. IN SEARCH OF TIME. Translated by F. S. HARRIS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Hawthorne (Margot Steffey). THE ENTHRALLED GARDEN. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE EASY CHICKENS: or, ONE WAY TO LIVIN'. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- HAPPINESS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wells (H. G.). THE WORKING OF CHANCE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HOUSE. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wells (H. G.). LOST PROPERTY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- W.H.H. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- A GUIDE TO THE STATES. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- A BREAKFAST LAWN. A New Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- M.H.H. GALEY'S BUSINESS. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE WICKHAMERS. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- NAM'L OF OAKLAND. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SPLINTERED BROTHERS. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- TRUTH AND THE GENERAL. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Witcher (Mrs. David G.). MAN AND LIFE. CASSOCK. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Whipple (C. H. D.). THE HEART OF ANCIENT WOOD. Cr. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- Wolfe (Hildegard). THE CONVERT. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Worrell (Baron Hall). THE EXALTED STATE. OWN CARE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Worrell (W. Clark). MY DANISH WEDDING. Illustrated. F/1A Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE BELGIAN PRINCE. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- WATSON (D.). Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- WATSON (J.). BUCKABELLAR'S VOYAGE. Illustrated by Gordon Browne. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- A MARRIAGE AT SEA. Illustrated by George Marmont Hill. FOR THE SOUL OF ED. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wardrobe (Gordon). JACK DANSTAN OF THE PAPER HOUSE. With Illustrations by Franklyn L. Weller. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wargrave (Edith). THE PARADE OF PAUL MARSHAL. Illustrated by THE STEET OF GEFFLET DARRELL. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CYCLING OF THE RAILWAY. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PROGRESS OF RACHEAL. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- EARLAKA'S MODEL. Illustrated by THE MASTER OF BEECHWOOD. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE YELLOW DIAMOND. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE LOVE THAT OVERCAME. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Shelley (Bertram). ENDERBY. Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Stegewick (Mrs. Alfred). THE KING-MAN. With 3 Illustrations by C. E. Brock. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SEVERINS. Fourth Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Smith (Dorothy V. Horace). MISS MONA. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Somnichase (Albert). DEEP-SEA VAGABONDS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Stewart (Newton V.). A SON OF THE EMPEROR: BEING PASSAGES FROM THE LIFE OF ENZIO, KING OF SARDINIA AND CORSICA. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Sunbury (George). THE HAP PENY MILLIONAIRE. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Surtees (R. S.). HANDLEY CROSS. Illustrated. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. Illustrated. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- ASK MAMMA. Illus. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Swayne (Martin Luttrell). THE BISHOP AND THE LADY. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Thurston (E. Temple). MIRAGE. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Underhill (Evelyn). THE COLUMN OF DUST. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Urquhart (M.). A TRAGEDY IN COMMONPLACE. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Verst (Marie Van). THE SENTIMENTAL ADVENTURES OF JIMMY BULSTRODE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- IN AMBUSH. Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Waineman (Paul). THE BAY OF LILACS: A Romance from Finland. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SONG OF THE FOREST. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- Walford (Mrs. L. B.). MR SMITH. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE BABY'S GRANDMOTHER. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- COUSINS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- TROUBLESONE DAUGHTERS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Wallace (General Lew). BEN-HUR. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- THE FAIR GOD. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Waltz (Elizabeth C.). THE ANCIENT LANDMARK: A KENTUCKY ROMANCE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Watson (H. B. Marriott). TWISTED EGLANTINE Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HIGH TOBY: Being further Chapters in the Life and Fortunes of Dick Ryder, otherwise Galloping Dick. With a Frontispiece. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A MIDSUMMER DAY'S DREAM. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- THE PRIVATEATES. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A POPPY SHOW: BEING DIVERS AND DIVERSE TALES. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE FLOWER OF THE HEART. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CASTLE BY THE SEA. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE ADVENTURERS. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Webling (Peggy). THE STORY OF VIRGINIA PERFECT. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Weekes (A. B.). THE PRISONERS OF WAR. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Wells (H. G.). THE SEA LADY. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Medium 8vo. 6d.
- Weyman (Stanley). UNDER THE RED ROBE. With Illustrations by R. C. WOODVILLE. Twenty-Second Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Whitby (Beatrice). THE RESULT OF AN ACCIDENT. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- White (Percy). THE SYSTEM. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A PASSIONATE PILGRIM. Medium 8vo. 6d.
- LOVE AND THE WISE MEN. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Williams (Margery). THE BAR. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Williamson (Mrs. C. N.). THE ADVENTURE OF PRINCESS SYLVIA. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE WOMAN WHO DARED. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SEA COULD TELL. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CASTLE OF THE SHADOWS. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- PAPA. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Williamson (C. N. and A. M.). THE LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR: The Strange Adventures of a Motor Car. With 16 Illustrations. Seventeenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. Also Cr. 8vo. 1s. net.
- THE PRINCESS PASSES: A Romance of a Motor. With 16 Illustrations. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MY FRIEND THE CHAUFFEUR. With 16 Illustrations. Tenth Edit. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- LADY BETTY ACROSS THE WATER. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CAR OF DESTINY AND ITS ERRAND IN SPAIN. With 17 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE BOTON CHAPERON. With a Frontispiece in Colour by A. H. BUCKLAND, 16 other Illustrations, and a Map. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SCARLET RUNNER. With a Frontispiece in Colour by A. H. BUCKLAND, and 8 other Illustrations. Third Ed. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SET IN SILVER. With a Frontispiece. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wyllarde (Dolf). THE PATHWAY OF THE PIONEER (Nous Autres). Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Yeldham (C. C.). DURHAM'S FARM. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Books for Boys and Girls

Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

- THE GETTING WELL OF DOROTHY. By Mrs. W. K. Clifford. Second Edition.
- ONLY A GUARD-ROOM DOG. By Edith E. Cuthell.
- MASTER ROCKAFELLAR'S VOYAGE. By W. Clark Russell. Fourth Edition.
- SVD BELTON: Or, the Boy who would not go to Sea. By G. Manville Fenn. Second Ed.
- THE RED GRANGE. By Mrs. Molesworth. A GIRL OF THE PEOPLE. By L. T. Meade. Fourth Edition.
- HEPSY GIPSY. By L. T. Meade. 2s. 6d.
- THE HONOURABLE MISS. By L. T. Meade. Second Edition.
- THERE WAS ONCE A PRINCE. By Mrs. M. E. Mann.
- WHEN ARNOLD COMES HOME. By Mrs. M. E. Mann.

The Novels of Alexandre Dumas

Medium 8vo. Price 6d. Double Volumes, 1s.

ACTÉ.
 THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILE.
 AMAURY.
 THE BIRD OF FATE.
 THE BLACK TULIP.
 THE CASTLE OF EPPSTEIN.
 CATHERINE BLUM.
 CECILE.
 THE CHEVALIER D'HARMENTAL. (Double volume.) 1s.
 CHICOT THE JESTER.
 CONSCIENCE.
 THE CONVICT'S SON.
 THE CORSICAN BROTHERS; and OTHO THE ARCHER.
 CROP-EARED JACQUOT.
 DOM GORENFLOT.
 THE FATAL COMBAT.
 THE FENCING MASTER.
 FERNANDE.
 GABRIEL LAMBERT.
 GEORGES.
 THE GREAT MASSACRE.
 HENRI DE NAVARRE.

HÉLÈNE DE CHAVERNY.
 THE HOROSCOPE.
 LOUISE DE LA VALLIÈRE. (Double volume.) 1s.
 THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK. (Double volume.) 1s.
 MAÎTRE ADAM.
 THE MOUTH OF HELL.
 NANON. (Double volume.) 1s.
 PAULINE; PASCAL BRUNO; and BONTEKOE.
 PÈRE LA RUINE.
 THE PRINCE OF THIEVES.
 THE REMINISCENCES OF ANTONY.
 ROBIN HOOD.
 THE SNOWBALL AND SULTANETTA.
 SYLVANDIR.
 TALES OF THE SUPERNATURAL.
 TALES OF STRANGE ADVENTURE.
 THE THREE MUSKETEERS. (Double volume.) 1s.
 THE TRAGEDY OF NANTES.
 TWENTY YEARS AFTER. (Double volume.) 1s.
 THE WILD-DUCK SHOOTER.
 THE WOLF-LEADER.

Methuen's Sixpenny Books

Medium 8vo.

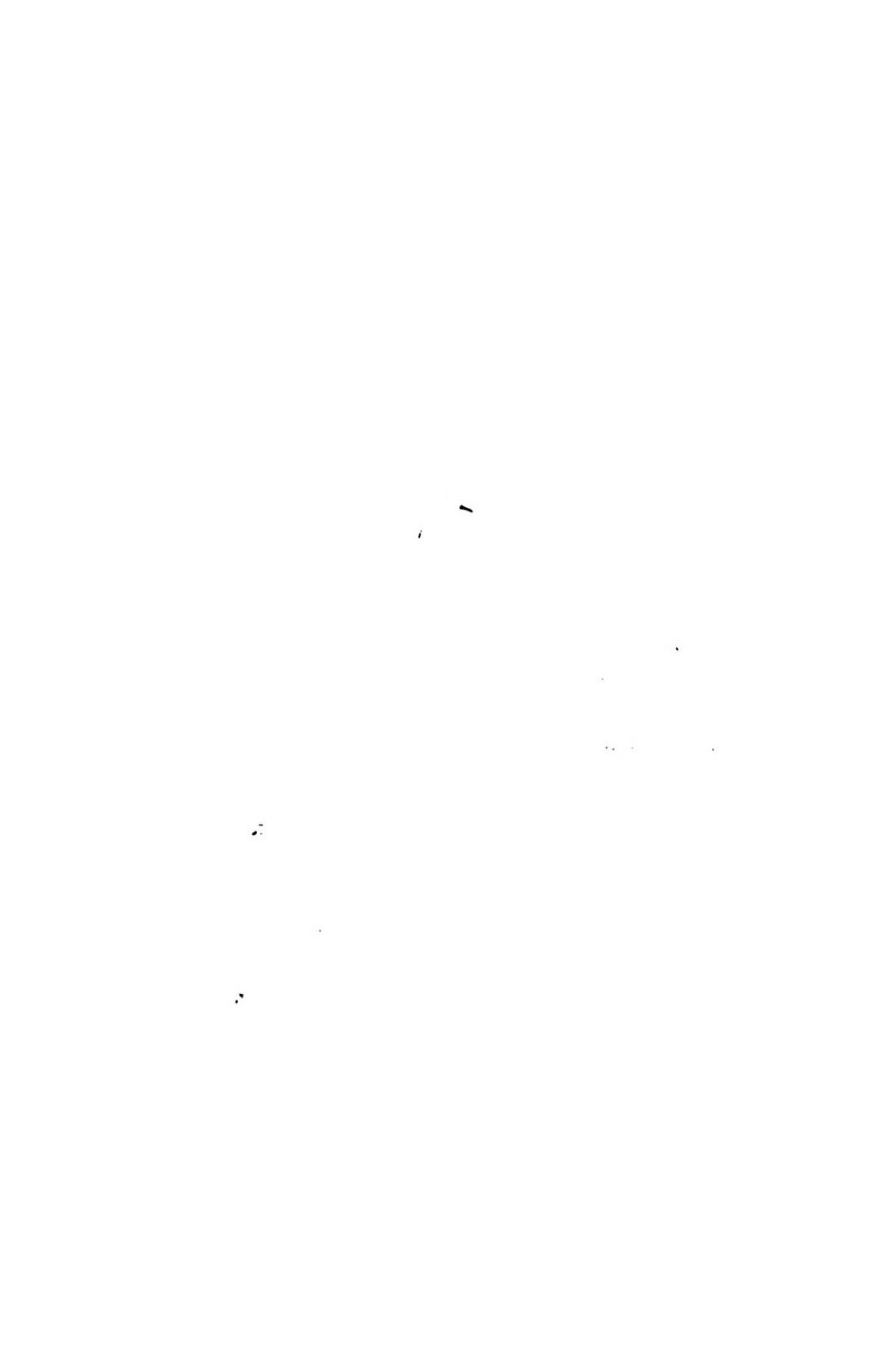
Albanesi (E. Maria). LOVE AND LOUISA.
 I KNOW A MAIDEN.
 Anstey (F.). A BAYARD OF BENGAL.
 Austen (J.). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE.
 Bagot (Richard). A ROMAN MYSTERY.
 CASTING OF NETS.
 DONNA DIANA.
 Balfour (Andrew). BY STROKE OF SWORD.
 Baring-Gould (S.). FURZE BLOOM.
 CHEAP JACK ZITA.
 KITTY ALONE.
 URITH.
 THE BROOM SQUIRE.
 IN THE ROAR OF THE SEA.
 NOÉMI.
 A BOOK OF FAIRY TALES. Illustrated.
 LITTLE TU-PENNY.
 WINIFRED.
 THE FROBISHERS.
 THE QUEEN OF LOVE.
 ARMINELL.
 Barr (Robert). JENNIE BAXTER.
 IN THE MIDST OF ALARMS.
 THE COUNTESS TEKLA.
 THE MUTABLE MANY.
 Benson (E. F.). DODO.
 THE VINTAGE.
 Brontë (Charlotte). SHIRLEY.

Brownell (C. L.). THE HEART OF JAPAN.
 Burton (J. Bloundelle). ACROSS THE SALT SEAS.
 Caffyn (Mrs.). ANNE MAULEVERER.
 Capes (Bernard). THE LAKE OF WINE.
 Clifford (Mrs. W. K.). A FLASH OF SUMMER.
 MRS. KEITH'S CRIME.
 Corbett (Julian). A BUSINESS IN GREAT WATERS.
 Croker (Mrs. B. M.). ANGEL.
 A STATE SECRET.
 PEGGY OF THE BARTONS.
 JOHANNA.
 Dante (Alighieri). THE DIVINE COMEDY (Cary).
 Doyle (A. Conan). ROUND THE RED LAMP.
 Duncan (Sara Jeannette). A VOYAGE OF CONSOLATION.
 THOSE DELIGHTFUL AMERICANS.
 Elliot (George). THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.
 Flindlater (Jane H.). THE GREEN GRAVES OF BALGOWRIE.
 Gallon (Tom). RICKERRY'S FOLLY.
 Gaskell (Mrs.). CRANFORD.
 MARY BARTON.
 NORTH AND SOUTH.

- Gerard (Dorothea).** HOLY MATRIMONY.
THE CONQUEST OF LONDON.
MADE OF MONEY.
- Gissing (G).** THE TOWN TRAVELLER.
THE CROWN OF LIFE.
- Glanville (Ernest).** THE INCA'S TREASURE.
THE KLOOF BRIDE.
- Gleig (Charles).** BUNTER'S CRUISE.
- Grimm (The Brothers).** GRIMM'S FAIRY TALES.
- Hope (Anthony).** A MAN OF MARK.
A CHANGE OF AIR.
THE CHRONICLES OF COUNT ANTONIO.
PHROSO.
THE DOLLY DIALOGUES.
- Hornung (E. W.).** DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.
- Ingraham (J. H.).** THE THRONE OF DAVID.
- Le Queux (W.).** THE HUNCHBACK OF WESTMINSTER.
- Levett-Yeats (S. K.).** THE TRAITOR'S WAY.
ORRAIN.
- Linton (E. Lynn).** THE TRUE HISTORY OF JOSHUA DAVIDSON.
- Lyall (Edna).** DERRICK VAUGHAN.
- Malet (Lucas).** THE CARISSIMA.
A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION.
- Mann (Mrs. M. E.).** MRS. PETER HOWARD.
A LOST ESTATE.
THE CEDAR STAR.
ONE ANOTHER'S BURDENS.
THE PATTEN EXPERIMENT.
A WINTER'S TALE.
- Marchmont (A. W.).** MISER HOADLEY'S SECRET.
A MOMENTS ERROR.
- Marryat (Captain).** PETER SIMPLE.
JACOB FAITHFUL.
- Marsh (Richard).** A METAMORPHOSIS.
THE TWICKENHAM PEERAGE.
THE GODDESS.
THE JOSS.
- Mason (A. E. W.).** CLEMENTINA.
- Mathers (Helen).** HONEY.
GRIFF OF GRIFFITHSCOURT,
SAM'S SWEETHEART.
- Meade (Mrs. L. T.).** DRIFT.
- Miller (Esther).** LIVING LIES.
- Mitford (Bertram).** THE SIGN OF THE SPIDER.
- Montresor (F. F.).** THE ALIEN.
- Morrison (Arthur).** THE HOLE IN THE WALL.
- Nesbit (E.)** THE RED HOUSE.
- Norris (W. E.).** HIS GRACE.
GILES INGILBY.
THE CREDIT OF THE COUNTY.
LORD LEONARD THE LUCKLESS.
MATTHEW AUSTIN.
CLARISSA FURIOSA.
- Oliphant (Mrs.).** THE LADY'S WALK.
SIR ROBERT'S FORTUNE.
THE PRODIGALS.
THE TWO MARYS.
- Oppenheim (E. P.).** MASTER OF MEN.
- Parker (Gilbert).** THE POMP OF THE LAVIETTES.
WHEN VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC.
THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD.
- Pemberton (Max).** THE FOOTSTEPS OF A THRONE.
I CROWN THEE KING.
- Phillpotts (Eden).** THE HUMAN BOY.
CHILDREN OF THE MIST.
THE POACHER'S WIFE.
THE RIVER.
- 'Q' (A. T. Quiller Couch).** THE WHITE WOLF.
- Ridge (W. Pett).** A SON OF THE STATE.
LOST PROPERTY.
GEORGE and THE GENERAL ERB.
- Russell (W. Clark).** ABANDONED.
A MARRIAGE AT SEA.
MY DANISH SWEETHEART.
HIS ISLAND PRINCESS.
- Sergeant (Adeline).** THE MASTER OF BEECHWOOD.
BARBARA'S MONEY.
THE YELLOW DIAMOND.
THE LOVE THAT OVERCAME.
- Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred).** THE KINS-MAN.
- Surtees (R. S.).** HANDLEY CROSS.
MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR.
ASK MAMMA.
- Walford (Mrs. L. B.).** MR. SMITH.
COUSINS.
THE BABY'S GRANDMOTHER.
TROUBLESOME DAUGHTERS.
- Wallace (General Lew).** BEN-HUR.
THE FAIR GOD.
- Watson (H. B. Marriott).** THE ADVENTURERS.
- Weekes (A. B.).** PRISONERS OF WAR.
- Wells (H. G.).** THE SEA LADY.
- White (Percy).** A PASSIONATE PILGRIM.

2475 027

9nf

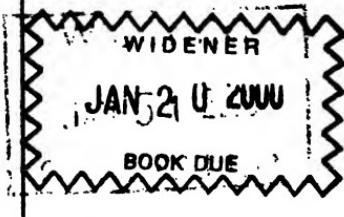
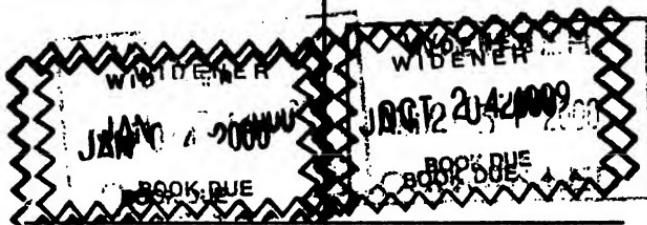




The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.

**Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413**



**Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve
library collections at Harvard.**



